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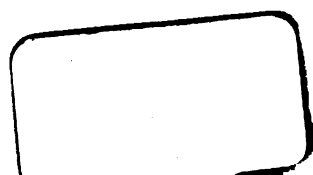
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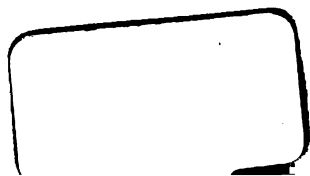
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THE  
FATHERS  
OF THE  
ENGLISH CHURCH;  
"OR,  
A Selection  
FROM THE  
WRITINGS OF THE REFORMERS  
AND  
EARLY PROTESTANT DIVINES,  
OF THE  
CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

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VOL. I.  
CONTAINING  
VARIOUS TRACTS AND EXTRACTS

FROM THE WORKS OF  
WILLIAM TINDAL,  
JOHN FRITH,  
PATRICK HAMILTON,  
GEORGE JOY,  
ROBERT BARNES:

WITH  
*MEMORIALS OF THEIR LIVES AND WRITINGS,*  
FROM  
FOX AND BISHOP BALE,

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1807.



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TO  
HIS MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY  
GEORGE III.  
OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND  
KING,

DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, &c. &c.

TO THE MOST REVEREND  
THE ARCHBISHOPS;

THE RIGHT REVEREND  
THE BISHOPS;

AND THE REVEREND  
THE CLERGY,

OF THE UNITED CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND IRELAND:

THIS WORK,

INTENDED AS A MONUMENT

TO THE HONOUR OF

THOSE HOLY MARTYRS, VENERABLE CONFESSORS,  
AND EARLY PROTESTANT DIVINES,

TO WHOM, UNDER GOD,

THE REFORMED CHURCH OF CHRIST IN THESE REALMS

OWES ITS

RISE, PROGRESS,

AND SUBSEQUENT ESTABLISHMENT,

IS,

WITH GREAT RESPECT,

DEDICATED,

AND SUBMITTED TO THEIR PATRONAGE,

BY

THE EDITORS.

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## TO THE PUBLIC.

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THE design of this publication is to exhibit, in a regular series, the sentiments, doctrines, and practical views of religion which were adopted by that venerable body of men to whom, under God, we are indebted for the commencement and carrying on of the great work of the Reformation, and the consequent establishing of that sound body of Protestant and scriptural truth, which is at once the support and ornament of the Church of England.

It is well known that a great variety of highly valuable and important matter exists in those works which still remain as monuments of their orthodoxy and zeal; but with a very few exceptions, they are little known to readers of the present day. It is apprehended that a republication of several entire compositions of the shorter kind, together with large selections and extracts from those which are more long and involved in Popish controversies, will, through the divine blessing, be attended with the happiest and most desirable effects. The rich vein of sterling Christianity and dignified simplicity of style, which pervade the writings of our forefathers of the Reformation, are eminently calculated to cherish those principles and views of sacred truth, which being drawn from the pure fountain of Revelation, have ever proved the surest bulwark against the attacks of infidelity and the encroachments of error.

An acquaintance with the original works of the Reformers appears to be peculiarly desirable in the

ministers of the Church, to whom it is presumed this publication will prove highly acceptable; the more so, as many of the books, from which the present selection will be made, are become very scarce and difficult of access. Much difference of opinion subsists, with respect to the doctrinal interpretation of the articles and liturgy of the established Church: this work, by facilitating the means of reference to the general body of the other public and private writings of the same men, who were employed in the composition and vindication of the established standards of doctrine, must, from the very nature of the comparison, throw much light on those controverted questions. And as the Conductors are determined that the Tracts and Extracts shall be selected with impartiality and integrity, so as to exhibit the respective authors, in their own original style and matter, with respect to all controverted doctrines; the public will be enabled to appeal to this work as a faithful record of the genuine sentiments which the early Protestant divines of the English Church held.

Particular attention has been and will be paid to the plan of this selection, in order that the whole of what each author has written on the various points of doctrinal and practical religion may be fairly and satisfactorily deduced from those portions of their works which are here inserted. In a great variety of instances, entire Tracts are given, as will be seen by reference to the Index affixed to the selections from each writer: and in those Extracts which are made from larger or chiefly controversial works, the Editors appeal to those who have the means of referring to the originals, whether they are not made with fidelity and impartiality. Their great object is, in the course of this publication, so to collect together and preserve the most valuable and interesting



parts of the writings of our Reformers, as to enable the reader to form a clear and unbiassed view of the real judgment and sentiments of those great and good men on every most important article of faith and practice.

Nothing can be more remote from the fixed determination of the Editors, than that this selection should be intentionally so compiled and arranged as to favour the particular views of any description of systematists and controversialists whatsoever, either within or without the pale of the established Church. To exhibit the original and venerable Fathers of the English Church in their own genuine colour and character, so far as it can be done, by reference to their writings, is their avowed purpose in this work: and on this ground they trust to be enabled to accomplish it, if permitted by life and health, to the satisfaction of those who shall be pleased to patronise the undertaking.

In this publication, the serious reader, of every description, will find a truly valuable and interesting selection of Protestant divinity, adapted to every class of the community, as well for the information of the understanding as the amendment and growth of the heart in holy affections. This will appear more evident, from the recollection that the work will exclusively consist of an impartial selection from the very materials which were prepared and circulated throughout every part of this kingdom, for the avowed purpose of reviving and establishing the religion of the primitive Church of Christ on the ruins of Papal superstition and error. The value of these writings is much enhanced, and they are rendered doubly interesting to the English Protestant, from the reflection that so many of these holy men, after a life spent in the defence of the truth, died as Martyrs to the sacred cause, and witnesses to the

power and efficacy of the doctrines which they taught.

The work is conducted by Clergymen of the established Church, anxious to unite their efforts in order to promote her prosperity and welfare. They feel a confidence in recommending the work to the patronage not only of their brethren, the Clergy, but to the Christian community at large, from a full conviction that it is calculated to prove of essential service to the Church of Christ.

The Second Volume will proceed with the writings of Dr. LANCELOT RIDLEY and Bishop LATIMER: it will also contain the Catechism published by the authority of King Edward VI. The succeeding volumes will consist of the works of CRANMER, HOOPEE, NICHOLAS RIDLEY, BRADFORD, JEWEL, &c. &c.

## THE EPISTLE OR PREFACE

TO THE CHRISTIAN READER,

*As prefixed to the Edition of the Works of Tindal, Frith, and Barnes, printed A. D. 1573. By*  
JOHN FOX.

As we have great cause to give thanks to the high providence of Almighty God, for the excellent art of printing, most happily of late found out, and now commonly practised every where, to the singular benefit of Christ's church, whereby great increase of learning and knowledge, with innumerable commodities else, have ensued, and daily do ensue to the life of man, and especially to the furtherance of true religion: so again of our part, it is both of us all in general to be wished, and especially of them to be produced, who occupy the trade thereof, rightly to use the same to the glory of Him which gave it; and to the end wherefore it was ordained, and not to abuse unworthily that worthy faculty, either in thrusting into the world every unworthy trifle that cometh to hand, or having respect more to their own private gain, than regard to the public edifying of Christ's church, or necessary preferment of religion. For therefore I suppose this science of printing first to be set up and sent of God to man's use, not so much for temporal commodity to be taken, or man's glory to be sought thereby, but rather for the spiritual and inward supportation of soul-health, help of religion, restoring of true doctrine, repairing of Christ's church, and repressing of corrupt abuses, which had heretofore overdarkened the doctrine of faith; to revive again the lost light of knowledge to these blind times, by renewing of wholesome and ancient writers: whose doings and teachings otherwise had lain in oblivion, had not the benefit of printing brought them again to light, or us rather to light by them. Wherefore such printers in my

## X THE FATHERS OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH.

mind, are not to be defrauded of their due commendation, who in pretermittting other light trifling pamphlets of matter unneedful and impertinent, little serving to purpose, less to necessity, do employ their endeavour and workmanship chiefly to restore such fruitful works and monuments of ancient writers, and blessed martyrs : who as by their godly life, and constant death, give testimony to the truth in time wherein they suffered ; so by their doctrine and learning, give no less light to all ages and posterity after them.

In the number of whom, may rightly be accounted, and no less recommended to the studious Christian reader these three learned fathers of blessed memory, whom the printer of this book hath diligently collected, and in one volume together inclosed their works ; I mean, William Tindal, John Frith, and Robert Barnes, chief ringleaders in these latter times of this church of England. Wherein, as we have much to praise God for such good books left to the church, and also for such printers in preserving by their industry and charges such books from perishing : so have I to exhort all studious readers, with like diligence to embrace the benefit of God offered, and seriously to occupy themselves in marking and following both the valiant acts and excellent writings of the said godly persons. Concerning the praise whereof, I shall not need in this place to bestow much commendation ; because, neither is it the praise of men, but profit of the godly, that they do seek : nor yet the contempt of the ungodly, that they do fear. Moreover, what is to be said or thought of them, rather by their own works, than by other men's words ; by reading their books, than by my preface, is to be seen. In pursuing whereof, thou shalt find (gentle reader), whether thou be ignorant, what to learn ; or whether thou be learned, what to follow, and what to stick to. Briefly, what

soever thou art, if thou be young, of John Frith : if thou be middle age, of William Tindal : if in elder years, of Dr. Barnes, matter is here to be found, not only of doctrine to inform thee, of comfort to delight thee, of godly ensample to direct thee : but also of special admiration, to make thee to wonder at the works of the Lord, so mightily working in these men, so opportunely in stirring them up, so graciously in assisting them.

Albeit, divers others also beside these, I say not nay, as well before them as after, through the secret operation of God's mighty providence, have been raised up, both famous in learning, flourishing in wit, and stout in zeal, who labouring in the same cause, have no less valiantly and doughtily stood in the like defence of Christ's true religion, against blind error, pestilent superstition, and perilous hypocrisy, namely, against the arch enemy of Christ and his flock, the bishop I mean of Rome, with his tyrannical seat : as namely here in England, John Wickliff, Rigge, Aston, Swinderby, W. Thorpe, Walter Brute, L. Cobham, with the residue of that former age : and also after them many other more fresh wits, faithful preachers, and learned writers have sprung up by the Lord of hosts to furnish his field : briefly, no age nor time hath ever lacked some or other, still baiting at the beast, but especially now in these our present days, such plenty, yea, whole armies the Lord hath poured upon his church of heavenly soldiers, who not only in number exceeding, but also in knowledge excelling, both by preaching and printing, do so garnish the church in every respect ; that it may seem, and so peradventure will be thought, this time of ours to stand now in little need of such books and monuments as these of former antiquity : yet notwithstanding, I am not of that mind so to think. For albeit, increasing of learning of tongues and sciences, with quickness of wit in youth and others, doth marvellously shut up

(as is to be seen), to the sufficient furnishing of Christ's church : yet so it happeneth, I cannot tell how, the farther I look back into those former times of Tindal, Frith, and others like; more simplicity, with true zeal and humble modesty I see, with less corruption of affections in them ; and yet with these days of ours, I find no fault. As, by reading and conferring their works together may eftsoon appear.

In opening the Scriptures, what truth, what soundness can a man require more, or what more is to be said, than is to be found in Tindal ? In his Prologues upon the five books of Moses, upon Jonas, upon the Gospels, and Epistles of St. Paul, particularly to the Romans ; how perfectly doth he hit the right sense, and true meaning in every thing ? In his *Obedience*, how fruitfully teacheth he every person his duty ! In his Expositions, and upon the parable of the wicked mammon, how pithily doth he persuade ; how gradual doth he exhort ; how lovingly doth he comfort ! Simple without ostentation, vehement without contention. Which two faults, as they commonly are wont to follow the most part of writers, so how far the same were from him, and he from them, his replies and answers to Sir Thomas More, do well declare. In doctrine sound, in heart humble, in life unrebukeable, in disputations modest, in rebuking charitable, in truth fervent, and yet no less prudent in dispensing the same, and bearing with time, and with weakness of men, as much as he might ; saving only, where mere necessity constrained him otherwise to do, for defence of truth against wilful blindness and subtle hypocrisy ; as in the *Practice of Prelates* is notorious to be seen. Briefly, such was his modesty, zeal, charity, and painful travail, that he never sought for any thing less, than for himself : for nothing more, than for Christ's glory, and edification of others : for whose cause not only he bestowed his labours, but his life,

and blood also. Wherefore not unrightly he might be then, as he is yet called, the apostle of England, as Paul calleth Epaphroditus, the apostle of the Philippians, for his singular care and affection towards them. For as the apostles in the primitive age first planted the church in truth of the Gospel: so the same truth being again decayed and defaced by enemies in this our latter time, there was none that travailed more earnestly in restoring of the same in this realm of England, than did William Tindal.

With which William Tindal, no less may be adjoined also John Frith and Dr. Barnes, both for that they, together with him, in one cause, and about one time, sustained the first brunt in this our latter age, and gave the first onset against the enemies: as also for the special gifts of fruitful erudition, and plentiful knowledge, wrought in them by God, and so by them left unto us in their writings. Wherefore, according to our promise in the book of *Acts and Monuments*, we thought good herein to spend a little diligence in collecting and setting abroad their books together, so many as could be found, to remain as perpetual lamps, shining in the Church of Christ, to give light to all posterity. And although the printer, herein taking great pains, could not peradventure come by all (howbeit, I trust, there lack not many), yet the Lord be thanked for those which he hath got and here published unto us.

And, would God, the like diligence had been used of our ancient fore-elders, in the time of Wickliff, Purney, Clerk, Brute, Thorp, Huss, Hierome, and such other, in searching and collecting their works and writings. No doubt but many things had remained in light, which now be left in oblivion. But by reason the art of printing was not yet invented, their worthy books were the sooner abolished. Such was then the wickedness of those days, and the practice of those prelates, then so crafty, that no good book could appear, though it were the

Scripture itself in English, but it was restrained, and so consumed: whereby ignorance and blindness so prevailed among the people, till, at the last, it so pleased the goodness of our God to provide a remedy for that mischief, by multiplying good books by the printer's pen, in such sort, as no earthly power was able after that, (though they did their best) to stop the course thereof, were he never so mighty: and all this for the furtherance of Christ's Church.

Wherefore receive (gracious reader) the books here collected and offered to thy hand: and thank God, thou hast them, and read them whilst thou mayst, while time, life, and memory serve thee. In reading whereof, the Lord grant, thou mayst receive no less fruit by them, than the hearty desire of the setter forth is to wish well unto thee. And the same Lord also grant, I beseech him, that this my exhortation and wish so may work in all, that not only the good, but the enemies also, which be not yet won to the word of truth, setting aside all partiality and prejudice of opinion, would with indifferent judgments, bestow some reading and hearing likewise of these, to taste what they do teach, to view their reasons, and to try their spirit; to mark the expositions of Tindal, the arguments of Frith, the articles and allegations of Barnes; which, if they shall find agreeable to the time and antiquity of the Apostle's doctrine, and touchstone of God's word, to use them to their instruction; if not, then to mislike them, as they find cause, after they have first tried them, and not before.

And thus, not to detain thee with longer process, from the reading of better matter, I refer and commend thee and thy studies (gentle reader), with my hearty wish and prayer to the grace of Christ Jesu, and direction of his holy Spirit, desiring thee likewise to do the same for me.

**JOHN FOX.**



**THE**  
**LIFE**  
**AND**  
**SELECTIONS FROM THE WRITINGS**  
**OF**  
**WILLIAM TINDAL,**  
***The Martyr.***

THE  
LIFE OF  
JACOB  
JACOBSON

JACOBSON

of the

THE  
FATHERS  
OF THE  
ENGLISH CHURCH.

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*An Account "of the Life and Story of the true  
Servant and Martyr of God, WILLIAM TINDAL;  
who, for his notable Pains and Travail, may well  
be called the Apostle of England, in this our latter  
Age; as he was a special Organ of the Lord ap-  
pointed, and as God's Mattock to shake the inward  
Roots and Foundation of the Pope's proud Prelacy."  
—(Extracted from Fox's Acts and Monuments of  
the Christian Martyrs.)*

WILLIAM TINDAL, the faithful minister and constant martyr of Christ, was born about the borders of Wales, and brought up from a child in the university of Oxford, where he, by long continuance, grew up and increased as well in the knowledge of tongues and other liberal arts, as specially in the knowledge of the Scriptures, whereunto his mind was singularly addicted: insomuch, that he lying then in Magdalen Hall, read privily, to certain students and fellows of Magdalen College, some parcel of divinity: instruct-

ing them in the knowledge and truth of the Scriptures. Whose manners also and conversation being correspondent to the same, were such, that all they which knew him, reputed and esteemed him to be a man of most virtuous disposition, and of life unspotted.

Thus he, in the university of Oxford, increasing more and more in learning, and proceeding in degrees of the schools, spying his time; removed from thence to the university of Cambridge, where, after he had likewise made his abode a certain space, being now farther ripened in the knowledge of God's word, leaving that university also, he resorted to one Master Welch, a knight of Gloucestershire, and was there schoolmaster to his children, and in good favour with his master. This gentleman, as he kept a good ordinary commonly at his table, there resorted to him many times sundry abbots, deans, archdeacons, with divers other doctors and great beneficed men: who there together with Master Tindal, sitting at the same table, did use many times to enter communication and talk of learned men, as of Luther and Erasmus: also of divers other controversies and questions upon the Scripture.

Then Master Tindal, as he was most learned and well practised in God's matters, so he spared not to shew unto them simply and plainly his judgment in matters, as he thought, and when as they at any time did vary from Tindal in opinions and judgment, he would shew them in the book, and lay plainly before them the open and manifest places of the Scriptures, to confute their errors, and confirm his sayings. And thus continued they for a certain season, reasoning and contending together divers and sundry times, till at length they waxed weary, and bare a secret grudge in their hearts against him.

As this grew on, the priests of the country clustering together, began to grudge and storm against

Tindal, railing against him in alehouses and other places, affirming that his sayings were heresy : adding, moreover, unto his sayings of their own heads, more than ever he spake ; and so accused him secretly to the chancellor and other of the bishop's officers.

Then, when the time came of his appearance before the chancellor, he threatened him grievously, reviling and rating him as though he had been a dog, and laid to his charge many things, whereof no accuser yet could be brought forth. Master Tindal, after those examinations, escaping out of their hands, departed home, and returned to his master (Welch) again.

There dwelt not far off a certain doctor (that had been an old chancellor before to a bishop), who had been of old familiar acquaintance with Tindal, and also favoured him well ; unto whom Tindal went and opened his mind upon divers questions of the Scripture : for to him he durst be bold to disclose his heart—unto whom the doctor said : “ Do you not know that the pope is very Antichrist, whom the Scripture speaketh of ? but beware what you say, for if you shall be perceived to be of that opinion, it will cost you your life ; ” and said moreover, “ I have been an officer of his ; but I have given it up, and defy him and all his works.”

Master Tindal being so molested and vexed in the country by the priests, was constrained to leave that country and to seek another place. He departed, and eftsoon came up to London, and there preached a while, according as he had done in the country before : at length, he bethinking himself of Cuthbert Tunstal, then bishop of London, who was much extolled for his learning by Erasmus, cast with himself, that if he might attain unto his service, he were a happy man. Whereupon he did write an epistle to

the bishop. But God, who secretly disposeth the course of things, saw that was not the best for Tindal's purpose, nor for the profit of his church, and therefore gave him to find little favour in the bishop's sight. So he remained in London the space almost of a year, beholding and marking with himself the course of the world, and especially the demeanour of the preachers, how they boasted themselves and set up their authority and kingdom: beholding also the pomp of the prelates, with other things more, which greatly misliked him. Insomuch, that he understood, not only there to be no room in the bishop's house for him to translate the New Testament; but also that there was no place to do it in all England. And, therefore, finding no place for his purpose within the realm, and having some aid and provision by God's providence ministered unto him by certain good men, he took his leave of the realm, and departed into Germany; where the good man being inflamed with a tender care and zeal of his country, refused no travail nor diligence, how, by all means possible, to reduce his brethren and countrymen of England to the same taste and understanding of God's holy word and verity, which the Lord had endued him withal. Whereupon he, considering in his mind, and partly also conferring with John Frith, thought with himself no way more to conduce thereunto, than if the Scripture were turned into the vulgar speech, that the poor people might also read and see the simple plain word of God. For he, wisely casting in his mind, perceived, by experience, how that it was not possible to stablish the lay people in any truth, except the Scripture were so plainly laid before their eyes in their mother tongue, that they might see the process, order, and meaning of the text. Again, right well he perceived and considered this only, as most chiefly to be the cause of

all mischief in the church, that the Scriptures of God were hidden from the people's eyes. For so long the abominable doings and idolatries, maintained by the pharisaical clergy, could not be espied, and therefore all their labour was with might and main to keep it down, so that either it should not be read at all, or, if it were, they would darken the right sense with the mist of their sophistry, and so entangle them which rebuked or despised their abominations, with arguments of philosophy, and with worldly similitudes, and apparent reasons of natural wisdom: and with wresting the Scripture into their own purpose, contrary unto the process, order, and meaning of the text, would so delude them in descanting upon it with allegories, and amaze them, expounding it in many senses, laid before the unlearned lay people; that though thou felt in thy heart, and were sure that all were false that they said, yet couldst not thou solve their subtle riddles.

For these and such other considerations, this good man was moved (and no doubt stirred up of God) to translate the Scripture into his mother tongue, for the public utility, and profit of the simple vulgar people of the country: first setting in hand with the New Testament, which he first translated about the year of our Lord 1527. After that he took in hand to translate the Old Testament, finishing the five books of Moses, with sundry most learned and godly prologues, prefixed before every one, most worthy to be read and read again of all good Christians; as the like also he did upon the New Testament. He wrote also divers other works, under sundry titles, among the which is that most worthy monument of his, entitled, *The Obedience of a Christian Man*: wherein, with singular dexterity, he instructeth all men in the office and duty of Christian obedience; with divers other treatises, now collected and set

forth in print, in one general volume, with the works of John Frith and Barnes, as are to be seen, most special and profitable for thy reading.

These books of Master Tindal being compiled, published, and sent over into England, it cannot be spoken what a door of light they opened to the eyes of the whole English nation, which before were many years shut up in darkness.

At his departing out of the realm, he took his journey into the farther parts of Germany, as into Saxony, where he had conference with Luther and other learned men, in those quarters. Where, after that he had continued a certain season, he came down from thence into the Netherlands, and had his most abiding in the town of Antwerp.

The godly books of Tindal, and specially the New Testament of his translation, after that they began to come into men's hands, and to spread abroad, as they wrought great and singular profit to the godly : so the ungodly, envying and disdaining that the people should be any thing wiser than they, and again fearing, lest by the shining beams of truth, their false hypocrisy and works of darkness should be discerned ; began to stir with no small ado, like as at the birth of Christ, Herod and all Jerusalem was troubled with him. But specially Satan, the prince of darkness, maligning the happy course and success of the Gospel, set to his might also, how to impeach and hinder the blessed travails of that man. For at what time Tindal had translated the fifth book of Moses, called Deuteronomy, minding to print the same at Hamburgh, he sailed thitherward : where by the way, upon the coast of Holland, he suffered shipwreck, by the which he lost all his books, writings, and copies, and so was compelled to begin all anew again, to his hindrance and doubling of his labours. Thus having lost by that ship, both money,



his copies, and time, he came in another ship to **Hamburgh**; where, at his appointment, **Master Coverdale** (bishop of **Exeter**) tarried for him, and helped him in translating of the whole five books of **Moses**.

When God's will was, that the New Testament, in the common tongue, should come abroad, **Tindal**, the translator thereof, in a letter at the latter end, desired them that were learned to amend, if aught were found amiss. But the bishops and prelates of the realm being incensed and inflamed in their minds, although having no cause, against the Old and New Testament of the Lord, newly translated by **Tindal**, and conspiring together, with all their heads and counsels, how to repeal the same, never rested before they had brought the king at last to their consent. By reason whereof a proclamation, in all haste, was devised and set forth under public authority (but no just reason shewed), that the Testament, of **Tindal's** translation, with other works more, both of his and of other writers, were inhibited.

Whilst he was at **Antwerp**, a person of the name of **Philips** was employed by the English bishops to gain the favour of **Tindal**, by pretending friendly regard to him, and so to compass his ruin; which thing was the more easy to do, for in the wily subtleness of this world he was simple and inexpert. A plan was laid for his being seized in the name of the emperor, and he was had to the castle of **Filford**, eighteen miles from **Antwerp**. Here he remained prisoner more than a year and a half. After many disputations and examinations, at last they condemned him as a heretic, by virtue of a decree of the emperor, made at **Augsburg**, and shortly after brought him forth to the place of execution, and there tied him to a stake, where, with a fervent zeal

and loud voice, he cried, " Lord, open the eyes of the king of England ;" and then first he was with an halter strangled, and afterward consumed with fire, in the year 1536..

Such was the power of his doctrine and the sincerity of his life, that, during the time of his imprisonment, he converted his keeper's daughter, and others of his household.

And here to end and conclude this history with a few notes, touching his private behaviour in diet, study, and specially his charitable zeal and tender relieving of the poor. First, he was a man very frugal, and spare of body, a great student, and earnest labourer, in the setting forth of the Scriptures of God. He reserved or hallowed to himself two days in the week, which he named his days of pastime, Monday and Saturday. On the Monday he visited all such poor men and women as were fled out of England, by reason of persecution, into Antwerp, and those, well understanding their good exercises and qualities, he did very liberally comfort and relieve ; and in like manner provided for the sick and diseased persons. On the Saturday he walked round about the town, seeking every corner and hole where he suspected any poor person to dwell ; and where he found any to be well occupied and yet overburdened with children, or else were aged or weak, those also he plentifully relieved. And thus he spent his two days of pastime, as he called them, And truly his alms were very large and great, and so it might well be ; for his exhibition that he had yearly, of the English merchants at Antwerp, was very much, and that for the most part he bestowed upon the poor. The rest of the days of the week he gave wholly to his book, wherein he most diligently travailed. When the Sunday came, then went he to some one merchant's chamber or other, whither

came many other merchants : and unto them would he read some one parcel of Scripture, the which proceeded so fruitfully, sweetly, and gently from him (much like to the writing of St. John the Evangelist), that it was a heavenly comfort and joy to the audience to hear him read the Scriptures. And likewise after dinner, he spent an hour in the aforesaid manner. He was a man without any spot or blemish of rancour or malice, full of mercy and compassion, so that no man living was able to reprove him of any kind of sin or crime : albeit, his righteousness and justification depended not thereupon before God, but only upon the blood of Christ, and his faith upon the same : in the which faith constantly he died, and now resteth with the glorious company of Christ's martyrs, blessedly in the Lord, who be blessed in all his saints. Amen. And thus much of W. Tindal, Christ's blessed servant and martyr.

*The following Tracts and Extracts are taken from the Edition of the Works of TINDAL, FRITH, and BARNES, bearing the Date of 1573, printed by John Daye, London.—Cum gratia et privilegio Regiæ Majestatis.*

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*A Pathway into the Holy Scripture, made by*  
WILLIAM TINDAL.

I do marvel greatly, dearly beloved in Christ, that ever any man should repugn or speak against the Scripture to be had in every language, and that of every man. For I thought that no man had been so blind to ask why light should be shewed to them that walk in darkness, where they cannot but stumble, and where to stumble is the danger of eternal damnation: either so despitiful, that he would envy any man (I speak not his brother) so necessary a thing: or so Bedlam mad to affirm, that good is the natural cause of evil, and darkness to proceed out of light, that lying should be grounded in truth and verity, and not rather clean contrary, that light destroyeth darkness, and verity reproveth all manner of lying.

Nevertheless, seeing that it hath pleased God to send unto our Englishmen, even to as many as unfeignedly desire it, the Scripture in their mother tongue, considering that there be in every place false teachers and blind leaders, that ye should be deceived of no man, I supposed it very necessary to prepare this Pathway into the Scripture for you, that ye might walk surely, and ever know the true from the false. And above all, to put you in remembrance of certain points, which are, that ye well understand what these words mean, the Old Testament, the New Testament, the law, the Gospel, Moses, Christ,

nature, grace, working and believing, deeds and faith. Lest we ascribe to the one that which belongeth to the other, and make of Christ, Moses; of the Gospel, the law; despise grace and rob faith; and fall from meek learning into idle despitions, brawling and scolding about words.

The Old Testament is a book, wherein is written the laws of God, and the deeds of them which fulfil them, and of them also which fulfil them not.

The New Testament is a book, wherein are contained the promises of God, and the deeds of them which believe them or believe them not.

Euangelion. (that we call the Gospel) is a Greek word and signifieth good, merry, glad, and joyful tidings, that maketh a man's heart glad, and maketh him sing, dance, and leap for joy. As when David had killed Goliath the giant, came glad tidings unto the Jews, that their fearful and cruel enemy was slain, and they delivered out of all danger; for gladness whereof they sung, danced, and were joyful. In like manner is the Euangelion of God, which we call Gospel and the New Testament, joyful tidings, and, as some say, a good hearing, published by the Apostles throughout all the world, of Christ the right David, how that he hath fought with sin, with death, and the devil, and overcome them. Whereby all men that were in bondage to sin, wounded with death, overcome of the devil, are without their own merits or deservings, loosed, justified, restored to life, and saved, brought to liberty and reconciled unto the favour of God, and set at one with him again: which tidings as many as believe, laud, praise, and thank God, are glad, sing, and dance for joy.

This Euangelion or Gospel (that is to say, such joyful tidings) is called the New Testament, because as a man, when he shall die, appointeth his goods to be dealt and distributed, after his death, among

them which he nameth to be his heirs: even so Christ, before his death, commanded and appointed that such Euangelion or Gospel or tidings should be declared throughout all the world, and therewith to give unto all that repent and believe all his goods: that is to say, his life, wherewith he swallowed and devoured up death: his righteousness, wherewith he banished sin: his salvation, wherewith he overcame eternal damnation. Now can the wretched man (that knoweth himself to be wrapped in sin, and in danger to death and hell) hear no more joyous a thing than such glad and comfortable tidings of Christ; so that he cannot but be glad and laugh from the low bottom of his heart, if he believe that the tidings are true.

To strengthen such faith with all, God promised this his Euangelion in the Old Testament, by the prophets (as Paul saith, Rom. i.), how that he was chosen out to preach God's Euangelion, which he before had promised by the prophets, in the Scriptures that treat of his Son, which was born of the seed of David. (Gen. iii.) God saith to the serpent, "I will put hatred between thee and the woman, between thy seed and her seed, that self seed shall tread thy head underfoot." Christ is this woman's seed, he it is that hath trodden underfoot the devil's head, that is to say, sin, death, hell, and all his power. For without this seed can no man avoid sin, death, hell, and everlasting damnation.

Again (Gen. xxii.) God promised Abraham, saying, "In thy seed shall all the generations of the earth be blessed." Christ is that seed of Abraham, saith St. Paul (Gal. iii.) He hath blessed all the world through the Gospel; for where Christ is not, there remaineth the curse that fell on Adam as soon as he had sinned, so that they are in bondage under the damnation of sin, death, and hell. Against this curse blesseth now the Gospel all the world, inasmuch

as it crieth openly, unto all that knowledge their sins and repent ; saying, Whosoever believeth on the seed of Abraham shall be blessed, that is, he shall be delivered from sin, death, and hell, and shall henceforth continue righteous and saved for ever, as Christ himself saith (John, xi.), “ He that believeth on me shall never more die.”

“ The law (saith John, i.) was given by Moses, but grace and verity came by Jesus Christ.” The law (whose minister is Moses) was given to bring us unto the knowledge of ourselves, that we might thereby feel and perceive what we are of nature. The law condemneth us and all our deeds, and is called by Paul (2 Cor. iii.) “ the ministration of death.” For it killeth our consciences and driveth us to desperation, inasmuch as it requireth of us that which is impossible for our nature to do. It requireth of us the deeds of a whole man. It requireth perfect love from the low bottom and ground of the heart, as well in all things which we suffer, as in the things which we do. But saith John, in the same place, “ Grace and verity is given us in Christ.” So that when the law hath passed upon us, and condemned us to death (which is its nature to do), then have we in Christ grace, that is to say favour, promises of life, of mercy, of pardon, freely by the merits of Christ, and in Christ have we verity and truth, in that God for his sake fulfilleth all his promises to them that believe. Therefore is the Gospel the ministration of life. Paul calleth it in afore-rehearsed place (2 Cor. iii.) the ministration of the spirit and of righteousness. In the Gospel, when we believe the promises, we receive the spirit of life and are justified in the blood of Christ, from all things whereof the law condemned us. And we receive love unto the law and power to fulfil it, and grow therein daily. Of Christ it is written in the fore-rehearsed (John, i.),

“ This is he of whose abundance or fulness all we have received grace for grace or favour for favour.” That is to say, for the favour that God hath to his Son Christ, he giveth unto us his favour and good will, and all gifts of his grace as a father to his sons : as affirmeth Paul, saying, “ which loved us in his Beloved, before the creation of the world.” So that Christ bringeth the love of God unto us, and not our own holy works. Christ is made Lord over all, and is called in Scripture God’s mercy stool: whosoever, therefore, flieth to Christ, can neither hear nor receive of God any other thing save mercy.

In the Old Testament are many promises, which are nothing else but Euangelion or Gospel, to save those that believed them from the vengeance of the law. And in the New Testament is oft made mention of the law, to condemn them which believe not the promises. Moreover, the law and Gospel may never be separate ; for the Gospel and promises serve but for troubled consciences, which are brought to desperation, and feel the pains of hell and death under the law, and are in captivity and bondage under the law. In all my deeds I must have the law before me, to condemn mine unperfectness. For all that I do (be I never so perfect) is yet damnable sin, when it is compared to the law, which requireth the ground and bottom of mine heart. I must therefore have always the law in my sight, that I may be meek in the spirit, and give God all the laud and praise, ascribing to him all righteousness, and to myself all unrighteousness and sin. I must also have the promises before mine eyes, that I despair not, in which promises I see the mercy, favour, and good will of God upon me, in the blood of his Son Christ, which hath made satisfaction for mine unperfectness, and fulfilled for me, that which I could not do.

Here may ye perceive that two manner of people



are sore deceived; first, they which justify themselves with outward deeds, in that they abstain outwardly from that which the law forbiddeth, and do outwardly that which the law commandeth. They compare themselves to open sinners; and in respect of them justify themselves, condemning the open sinners. They set a vail on Moses's face, and see not how the law requireth love from the bottom of the heart, and that love only is the fulfilling of the law. If they did, they would not condemn their neighbours. "Love hideth the multitude of sins," saith St. Peter, in his first Epistle. For whom I love from the deep bottom and ground of mine heart, him condemn I not, neither reckon his sins, but suffer his weakness and infirmity, as a mother the weakness of her son, until he grow up into a perfect man.

Those also are deceived which without all fear of God give themselves unto all manner of vices with full consent, and full delectation, having no respect to the law of God, under whose vengeance they are locked up in captivity; but say, God is merciful and Christ died for us; supposing that such dreaming and imagination is that faith which is so greatly commended in Holy Scripture. Nay, that is not faith, but rather a foolish blind opinion, springing of their own corrupt nature, and is not given them by the Spirit of God, but rather by the spirit of the devil, whose faith, now-a-days, the Papists compare and make equal unto the best trust, confidence and belief that a repenting soul can have in the blood of our Saviour Jesus, unto their own confusion, shame, and uttering what they are within. But true faith (as saith the apostle Paul) is the gift of God, and is given to sinners after the law hath passed upon them, and hath brought their consciences unto the brim of desperation and sorrows of hell.

They that have this right faith consent to the law

that it is righteous and good, and justify God which made the law, and have delectation in the law (notwithstanding they cannot fulfil it as they would for their weakness), and they abhor whatsoever the law forbiddeth, though they cannot always avoid it. And their great sorrow is, because they cannot fulfil the will of God in the law, and the spirit that is in them crieth to God night and day for strength and help with tears (as saith Paul), that cannot be expressed with tongue, of which things the belief of our Papists, or of their father, whom they so magnify for his strong faith, hath none experience at all.

The first, that is to say, he which justifieth himself with his outward deeds, consenteth not to the law inward, neither hath delectation therein; yea, he would rather that no such law were. So he justifieth not God, but hateth him as a tyrant, neither careth he for the promises, but will with his own strength be saviour of himself: no wise glorifieth he God, though he seem outward to do.

The second, that is to say, the sensual person, as a voluptuous swine, neither feareth God in his law, neither is thankful to him for his promises and mercy, which is set forth in Christ to all them that believe.

The right Christian man consenteth to the law that it is righteous, and justifieth God in the law; for he affirmeth that God is righteous and just, which is the Author of the law, he believeth the promises of God and justifieth God, judging him true, and believing that he will fulfil his promises; with the law he condemneth himself and all his deeds, and giveth all the praise to God. He believeth the promises, and ascribeth all truth to God: thus every where justifieth he God, and praiseth God.

By nature, through the fall of Adam, are we the children of wrath, heirs of the vengeance of God by birth, yea, and from our conception. And we have

our fellowship with the damned devils, under the power of darkness and rule of Satan, while we are yet in our mothers' wombs; and though we shew not forth the fruits of sin as soon as we be born, yet are we full of the natural poison, whereof all sinful deeds spring, and cannot but sin outwardly (be we never so young) as soon as we be able to work, if occasion be given, for our nature is to do sin, as is the nature of a serpent to sting. And as a serpent yet young, or yet unbrought forth, is full of poison, and cannot afterward (when the time is come and occasion given) but bring forth the fruits thereof. And as an adder, a toad, or a snake, is hated of man (not for the evil that it hath done, but for the poison that is in it, and hurt which it cannot but do), so are we hated of God for that natural poison which is conceived and born with us, before we do any outward evil. And as the evil which a venomous worm doth, maketh it not a serpent; but because it is a venomous worm, doth it evil and poisoneth; and as the fruit maketh not the tree evil, but because it is an evil tree, therefore bringeth it forth evil fruit, when the season of fruit is. Even so do not our evil deeds make us first evil, though ignorance and blindness, through evil working, hardeneth us in evil and maketh us worse and worse; but because that of nature we are evil, therefore we both think and do evil, and are under vengeance under the law, convict to eternal damnation by the law, and are contrary to the will of God in all our will, and in all things consent to the will of the fiend.

By grace (that is to say, by favour) we are plucked out of Adam, the ground of all evil, and grafted in Christ, the root of all goodness. In Christ God loved us, his elect and chosen, before the world began, and reserved us unto the knowledge of his Son and of his holy Gospel, and when the Gospel is

preached to us, openeth our hearts and giveth us grace to believe, and putteth the spirit of Christ in us, and we know him as our Father most merciful, and consent to the law, and love it inwardly in our heart, and desire to fulfil it, and sorrow because we cannot : which will (sin we of frailty never so much) is sufficient till more strength be given us ; the blood of Christ hath made satisfaction for the rest : the blood of Christ hath obtained all things for us of God. Christ is our Satisfaction, Redeemer, Deliverer, Saviour from vengeance and wrath. Observe and mark in Paul's, Peter's, and John's Epistles, and in the Gospel, what Christ is unto us.

By faith are we saved only in believing the promises. And though faith be never without love and good works, yet is our saving imputed neither to love nor unto good works, but unto faith only. For love and works are under the law, which requireth perfection, and the ground and fountain of the heart, and damneth all imperfectness. Now is faith under the promises, which damn not ; but give pardon, grace, mercy, favour, and whatsoever is contained in the promises.

Righteousness is divers : for blind reason imagineth many manner of righteousnesses. There is the righteousness of works (as I said before), when the heart is away, and it is not felt how the law is spiritual and cannot be fulfilled, but from the bottom of the heart. As the just ministration of all manner of laws, and the observing of them, for a worldly purpose and for our own profit, and not of love unto our neighbour, without all other respect, and moral virtues, wherein philosophers put their felicity and blessedness, which all are nothing in the sight of God, in respect of the life to come. There is, in like manner, the justifying of ceremonies, which some imagine their own selves ; some counterfeit

other, saying in their blind reason, such holy persons did thus and thus, and they were holy men ; therefore, if I do so likewise, I shall please God : but they have none answer of God that that pleaseth. The Jews seek righteousness in their ceremonies, which God gave unto them, not for to justify ; but to describe and paint Christ unto them, of which Jews testifieth Paul, saying, how that they have affection to God, but not after knowledge, for they go about to establish their own justice, and are not obedient to the justice or righteousness that cometh of God, which is the forgiveness of sin in Christ's blood unto all that repent and believe. The cause is verily, that except a man cast away his own imagination and reason, he cannot perceive God, and understand the virtue and power of the blood of Christ. There is a full righteousness, when the law is fulfilled from the ground of the heart. This had neither Peter nor Paul in this life perfectly ; unto the uttermost, that they could not be perfecter, but sighed after it. They were so far forth blessed in Christ, that they hungered and thirsted after it. Paul had this thirst, he consented to the law of God, that it ought so to be, but he found another lust in his members contrary to the lust and desire of his mind, that letted him, and therefore cried out, saying, " Oh ! wretched man that I am : who shall deliver me from this body of death ? thanks be to God through Jesus Christ." The righteousness that before God is of value, is to believe the promises of God, after the law hath confounded the conscience.

As when the temporal law oft times condemneth the thief or murderer, and bringeth him to execution, so that he seeth nothing before him but present death, and then cometh good tidings, a charter from the king, and delivereth him. Likewise, when God's law hath brought the sinner into knowledge of himself, and

hath confounded his conscience, and opened unto him the wrath and vengeance of God, then cometh good tidings, the Euangelion, and sheweth unto him the promises of God in Christ, and how that Christ hath purchased pardon for him, hath satisfied the law for him, and peased the wrath of God. And the poor sinner believeth, laudeth, and thanketh God through Christ, and breaketh out into exceeding inward joy and gladness, for that he hath escaped so great wrath, so heavy vengeance, so fearful and so everlasting a death. And he henceforth is an hungered, and athirst after more righteousness, that he might fulfil the law, and mourneth continually, commending his weakness unto God in the blood of our Saviour Christ Jesus.

Here shall ye see compendiously and plainly set out the order and practice of every thing afore rehearsed. The fall of Adam hath made us heirs of the vengeance and wrath of God, and heirs of eternal damnation; and hath brought us into captivity and bondage under the devil: and the devil is our lord and our ruler, our head, our governor, our prince, yea, and our god. And our will is locked and knit faster unto the will of the devil, than could an hundred thousand chains bind a man unto a post. Unto the devil's will consent we, with all our hearts, with all our minds, with all our might, power, strength, will, and lust: so that the law and will of the devil is written as well in our hearts as in our members, and we run headlong after the devil with full sail, and the whole swing of all the power we have: as a stone cast up in the air cometh down naturally of his own self, with all the violence and swing of his own weight. With what poison deadly, and venomous hate, hateth a man his enemy! With how great malice of mind inwardly do we slay and murder! With what violence and rage, yea and with how fervent lust commit

we adultery, fornication, and such like uncleanness ! With what pleasure and delectation inwardly serveth a glutton his belly ! With what diligence deceive we ! How busily seek we the things of this world ! Whatsoever we do, think, or imagine, is abominable in the sight of God. For we can refer nothing unto the honour of God : neither is his law or his will written in our members or in our hearts : neither is there any more power in us to follow the will of God than in a stone to ascend upward of his own self. And beside that, we are, as it were, asleep in so deep blindness, that we can neither see nor feel what misery, thralldom, and wretchedness we are in, till Moses come and awake us, and publish the law. When we hear the law truly preached, how that we ought to love and honour God with all our strength and might, from the low bottom of the heart : because he hath created us, and both heaven and earth for our sakes, and made us lords thereof ; and our neighbours (yea our enemies) as ourselves, inwardly from the ground of the heart, because God hath made them after the likeness of his own image, and they are his sons as well as we, and Christ hath bought them with his blood, and made them heirs of everlasting life as well as us : and how we ought to do whatsoever God biddeth, and abstain from whatsoever God forbiddeth, with all love and meekness, with a fervent and a burning lust from the centre of the heart ; then beginneth the conscience to rage against the law and against God. No sea, be it never so great a tempest, is so unquiet. For it is not possible for a natural man to consent to the law, that it should be good, or that God should be righteous, which maketh the law : inasmuch as it is contrary unto his nature, and damneth him and all that he can do, and neither sheweth him where to fetch help, nor preacheth any mercy, but only

setteth man at variance with God, as witnesseth Paul (Rom. iv.), and provoketh him and stirreth him to rail on God, and to blaspheme him as a cruel tyrant. For it is not possible for a man, till he be born again, to think that God is righteous to make him of so poisonous nature, either for his own pleasure or for the sin of another man, and to give him a law that is impossible for him to do, or to consent to: his wit, reason, and will, being so fast glued, yea nailed and chained unto the will of the devil. Neither can any creature loose the bonds, save the blood of Christ only.

This is captivity and bondage whence Christ delivered us, redeemed, and loosed us. His blood, his death, his patience in suffering rebukes and wrongs, his prayers and fastings, his meekness and fulfilling of the uttermost point of the law, peased the wrath of God, brought the favour of God to us again, obtained that God should love us first, and be our Father, and that a merciful Father, that will consider our infirmities and weakness, and will give us his Spirit again (which was taken away in the fall of Adam), to rule, govern, and strengthen us, and to break the bonds of Satan, wherein we were so strait bound. When Christ is thus wise preached, and the promises rehearsed which are contained in the prophets, in the Psalms, and in divers places of the five books of Moses: which preaching is called the Gospel or glad tidings: then the hearts of them which are elect and chosen begin to wax soft and melt at the bounteous mercy of God, and kindness shewed of Christ. For when the Euangelion is preached, the Spirit of God entereth into them, which God hath ordained and appointed unto eternal life, and openeth their inward eyes, and worketh such belief in them; when the woeful consciences feel and taste how sweet a thing the bitter death of Christ is, and how merci-



ful and loving God is, through Christ's purchasing and merits, they begin to love gain, and to consent to the law of God, how that it is good and ought so to be, and that God is righteous which made it, and desire to fulfil the law, even as a sick man desireth to be whole, and are an hungred and thirst after more righteousness and after more strength, to fulfil the law more perfectly. And in all that they do, or omit and leave undone, they seek God's honour, and his will with meekness, ever condemning the unperfectness of their deeds by the law.

Now Christ standeth us in double stead, and serveth us two manner wise. First, he is our Redeemer, Deliverer, Reconciler, Mediator, Intercessor, Advocate, Attorney, Solicitor; our Hope, Comfort, Shield, Protection, Defender, Strength, Health, Satisfaction and Salvation. His blood, his death, all that he ever did, is ours. And Christ himself, with all that he is or can do, is ours. His bloodshedding and all that he did, doth me as good service as though I myself had done it. And God (as great as he is) is mine with all that he hath, as an husband is his wife's, through Christ and his purchasing.

Secondarily, after that we be overcome with love and kindness, and now seek to do the will of God (which is a Christian man's nature), then have we Christ an example to counterfeit, as saith Christ himself (in John): "I have given you an example;" and in another evangelist, he saith: "He that will be great among you shall be your servant and minister, as the Son of Man came to minister and not to be ministered unto." And Paul saith, "Counterfeit Christ;" and Peter saith, "Christ died for you, and left you an example to follow his steps." Whatsoever, therefore, faith hath received of God through Christ's blood and deserving, that same must love

shed out every whit, and bestow it on our neighbours unto their profit, yea and that though they be our enemies. By faith we receive of God, and by love we shed out again. And that must we do freely after the example of Christ without any other respect, save our neighbour's weal only, and neither look for reward in earth, nor yet in heaven for the deserving and merits of our deeds, as friers preach, though we know that good deeds are rewarded, both in this life and in the life to come: but of pure love we must bestow ourselves all that we have, and all that we are able to do, even on our enemies to bring them to God, considering nothing but their weal, as Christ did ours. Christ did not his deeds to obtain heaven thereby (that had been a madness), heaven was his already, he was heir thereof, it was his by inheritance; but did them freely for our sakes, considering nothing but our weal, and to bring the favour of God to us again and us to God. As no natural son that is his father's heir, doth his father's will, because he would be heir, that he is already by birth: his father gave him that ere he was born, and is lother that he should go without it, than he himself hath wit to be; but of pure love doth he that he doth. And ask him why he doth any thing that he doth, he answereth: My father bade, it is my father's will, it pleaseth my father. Bond servants work for hire, children for love. For their father, with all he hath, is theirs already. So doth a Christian man freely all that he doth, considereth nothing but the will of God, and his neighbour's weal only. If I live chaste, I do it not to obtain heaven thereby; for then should I do wrong to the blood of Christ: Christ's blood hath obtained me that, Christ's merits have made me heir thereof. He is both door and way thitherwards. Neither that I look for an higher room in heaven, than they shall have which live in wedlock, or than a whore of the stews (if she repent), for that were

the pride of Lucifer. But freely to wait on the Euangelion, and to avoid the trouble of the world and occasions that might pluck me therefrom, and to serve my brother withal, even as one hand helpeth another, or one member another; because one feeleth another's grief, and the pain of the one is the pain of the other. Whatsoever is done to the least of us (whether it be good or bad), it is done to Christ, and whatsoever is done to my brother (if I be a Christian man), that same is done to me. Neither doth my brother's pain grieve me less than mine own. Neither rejoyce I less at his weal than at my own, if I love him as well and as much as myself, as the law commandeth me. If it were not so, how saith Paul; "Let him that rejoyceth, rejoyce in the Lord," that is to say Christ, which is Lord over all creatures. If my merits obtained me heaven, or a higher place there, then had I wherein I might rejoyce besides the Lord.

Here see ye the nature of the law, and the nature of the Euangelion; how the law is the key that bindeth and damneth all men, and the Euangelion is the key that looseth them again. The law goeth before, and the Euangelion followeth: when a preacher preacheth the law, he bindeth all consciences; and when he preacheth the Gospel, he looseth them again. These two salves (I mean the law and the Gospel) useth God and his preacher, to heal and cure sinners withal. The law driveth out the disease and maketh it appear, and is a sharp salve, and fretting corse, and killeth the dead flesh, and looseth and draweth the sores out by the roots, and all corruption. It pulleth from a man the trust and confidence that he hath in himself, and in his own works, merits, deservings and ceremonies, and robbeth him of all his righteousness, and maketh him poor. It killeth him, sendeth him down to hell, and bringeth him to utter desperation, and prepareth the way of the

Lord, as it is written of John the Baptist. For it is not possible that Christ should come to a man, as long as he trusteth in himself, or in any worldly thing, or hath any righteousness of his own, or riches of holy works. Then cometh the Euangelion, a more gentle pastor, which suppleth and assuageth the wounds of the conscience, and bringeth health. It bringeth the Spirit of God, which looseth the bonds of Satan, and coupleth us to God and his will through strong faith and fervent love, with bonds too strong for the devil, the world, or any creature to loose them. And the poor and wretched sinner feeleth so great mercy, love and kindness in God, that he is sure in himself how that it is not possible that God should forsake him, or withdraw his mercy and love from him : and boldly crieth out with Paul, saying, " Who shall separate us from the love that God loveth us withal ? " that is to say, what shall make me believe that God loveth me not ? Shall tribulation ? anguish ? persecution ? shall hunger ? nakedness ? shall sword ? " Nay I am sure that neither death nor life, neither angel, neither rule nor power, neither present things nor things to come, neither high nor low, neither any creature is able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesu our Lord." In all such tribulations a Christian man perceiveth that God is his father, and loveth him, even as he loved Christ, when he shed his blood on the cross. Finally, as before, when I was bound to the devil and his will, I wrought all manner of evil and wickedness, not for hell's sake, which is the reward of sin, but because I was heir of hell by birth and bondage to the devil, did I evil. For I could none otherwise do : to do sin was my nature. Even so now since I am coupled to God by Christ's blood, do I well, not for heaven's sake, which is yet the reward of well doing ; but because I am heir of heaven

by grace and Christ's purchasing, and have the Spirit of God, I do good freely, for so is my nature. As a good tree bringeth forth good fruit, and an evil tree evil fruit. By the fruits shall ye know what the tree is. A man's deeds declare what he is within, but make him neither good nor bad; though after we be created anew by the spirit and doctrine of Christ, we wax perfecter alway with working, according to the doctrine, and not with blind works of our own imagining: we must be first evil ere we do evil, as a serpent is first poisoned ere he poison: we must also be good ere we do good; as the fire must be first hot ere it heat another thing. Take an example. As those blind and deaf, which are cured in the Gospel, could not see nor hear till Christ had given them sight and hearing, and those sick could not do the deeds of an whole man, till Christ had given them health: so can no man do good in his soul, till Christ have loosed him out of the bonds of Satan, and have given him wherewith to do good, yea and first have poured into him that self good thing, which he sheddeth forth afterward on another: whatsoever is our own, is sin: whatsoever is above that, is Christ's gift, purchase, doing and working. He bought it of his Father dearly with his blood, yea with his most bitter death, and gave his life for it: whatsoever good thing is in us, that is given us freely without our deserving or merits for Christ's blood's sake. That we desire to follow the will of God, it is the gift of Christ's blood. That we now hate the devil's will (whereunto we were so fast locked, and could not but love it) is also the gift of Christ's blood, unto whom belongeth the praise and honour of our good deeds, and not unto us.

Our deeds do us three manner of service. First, they certify us that we are heirs of everlasting life: and that the Spirit of God, which is the earnest

thereof in us, in that our hearts consent unto the law of God, and we have power in our members to do it, though imperfectly. Secondly, we tame the flesh therewith, and kill the sin that remaineth yet in us, and wax daily perfecter and perfecter in the spirit therewith, and keep that the lusts choke not the word of God that is sown in us, nor quench the gifts and working of the Spirit, and that we lose not the Spirit again. And, thirdly, we do our duty unto our neighbour therewith, and help their necessity unto our own comfort also, and draw all men unto the honouring and praising of God.

And whosoever excelleth in the gifts of grace, let the same think that they be given him, as much to do his brother service as for his own self, and as much for the love which God hath to the weak as unto him, unto whom God giveth such gifts. And he that withdraweth ought that he hath from his neighbour's need, robbeth his neighbour, and is a thief. And he that is proud of the gifts of God, and thinketh himself by the reason of them better than his feeble neighbour, and not rather, as the truth is, knowledgeth himself a servant unto his poor neighbour, by reason of them the same hath Lucifer's spirit in him, and not Christ's.

These things to know; first, the law; how that it is natural, right and equity, that we have but one God to put our hope and trust in, and him to love with all the heart, all the soul, and all our might and power, and neither to move heart nor hand but at his commandment, because he hath first created us of nought, and heaven and earth for our sakes. And afterward, when we had marred our selves through sin, he forgave us and created us again in the blood of his beloved Son,

And that we have the name of our one God in fear and reverence, and that we dishonour it not in swear-

ing thereby, about light trifles or vanity, or call it to record for the confirming of wickedness or falsehood, or ought that is to the dishonour of God, which is the breaking of his laws, or unto the hurt of our neighbour.

And inasmuch as he is our Lord and God, and we his double possession, by creation and redemption, and therefore ought, as I said, neither to move heart or hand without his commandment, it is right that we have needful holydays to come together and learn his will, both the law which he will have us ruled by, and also the promises of mercy, which he will have us trust unto: and to give God thanks together for his mercy, and to commit our infirmities to him through our Saviour Jesus, and to reconcile ourselves unto him, and each to other, if ought be between brother and brother that requireth it. And for this purpose and such like, as to visit the sick and needy, and redress peace and unity, were the holydays ordained only, and so far forth are they to be kept holy from all manner of works that may be conveniently spared for the time till this be done and no farther, but then lawfully to work.

And that it is right that we obey father and mother, master, lord, prince and king, and all the ordinances of the world bodily and ghostly, by which God ruleth us and ministereth freely his benefits unto us all. And that we love them for the benefits that we receive by them, and fear them for the power they have over us to punish us if we trespass the law and good order. So far yet are the worldly powers or rulers to be obeyed only, as their commandments repugn not against the commandments of God, and them hoo.

Wherefore we must have God's commandments ever in our hearts, and by the higher law interpret the inferior: that we obey nothing against the belief of one God, or against the faith, hope and trust

that is in him, or against the love of God, whereby we do or leave undone all things for his sake, and that we do nothing for any man's commandment against the reverence of the name of God, to make it despised and the less feared and set by; and that we obey nothing to the hindrance of the knowledge of the blessed doctrine of God, whose servant the holy day is.

Notwithstanding, though the rulers which God hath set over us, command us against God, or do us open wrong and oppress us with cruel tyranny, yet because they are in God's room, we may not avenge ourselves, but by the process and order of God's law, and laws of man made by the authority of God's law, which is also God's law, ever by a higher power, and remitting the vengeance unto God, and in the mean season suffer until the hour be come.

And on the other side, to know that a man ought to love his neighbour equally and fully as well as himself, because his neighbour (be he never so simple) is equally created of God, and as full redeemed by the blood of our Saviour Jesu Christ. Out of which commandment of love spring these: kill not thy neighbour: defile not his wife: bear no false witness against him, and finally, not only do not these things in deed, but covet not in thine heart, his house, his wife, his man servant, maid servant, ox, ass, or whatsoever is his. So that these laws, pertaining unto our neighbour, are not fulfilled in the sight of God, save with love. He that loveth not his neighbour keepeth not this commandment; defile not thy neighbour's wife, though he never touch her or never see her, or think upon her. For the commandment is, though thy neighbour's wife be never so fair, and thou have never so great opportunity given thee, and she content, or haply provoke thee as Potiphar's wife did Joseph, yet see thou love thy neighbour so well, and that for very



love, thou cannot find in thine heart to do the wickedness. And even so he that trusteth in any thing, save in God only and in his Son Jesus Christ, keepeth no commandment at all in the sight of God. For he that hath trust in any creature, whether in heaven or in earth, save in God and his Son Jesus, can see no cause to love God with all his heart, &c. neither to abstain from dishonouring his name, nor to keep the holy day for the love of his doctrine, nor to obey lovingly the rulers of this world, nor any cause to love his neighbour as himself, and to abstain from hurting him, where he may get profit by him and save himself harmless. And in like wise against this law, love thy neighbour as thyself, I may obey no worldly power, to do ought at any man's commandment unto the hurt of my neighbour, that hath not deserved it, though he be a Turk.

And to know how contrary this law is unto our nature, and how it is damnation not to have this law written in our hearts, though we never commit the deeds: and how there is no other means to be saved from this damnation than through repentance toward the law, and faith in Christ's blood, which are the very inward baptism of our souls, and the washing and the dipping of our bodies in the water is the outward sign. The plunging of the body under the water signifieth that we repent and profess to fight against sin and lusts, and to kill them every day more and more, with the help of God and our diligence in following the doctrine of Christ, and the leading of his spirit, and that we believe to be washed from our natural damnation in which we are born, and from all the wrath of the law, and from all the infirmities and weaknesses that remain in us, after we have given our consent unto the law, and yielded ourselves to be scholars thereof, and from all the imperfectness of all our deeds done with cold love, and from all actual

sin, which shall chance on us while we enforce the contrary, and ever fight thereagainst and hope to sin no more. And thus repentance and faith begin at our baptism and first professing the laws of God, and continue unto our lives end, and grow as we grow in the Spirit. For the perfecter we be, the greater is our repentance and the stronger our faith. And thus as the spirit and doctrine on God's part, and repentance and faith, on our part, beget us anew in Christ: even so they make us grow and wax perfect, and save us unto the end, and never leave us until all sin be put off, and we clean purified, and full formed and fashioned after the similitude and likeness of the perfectness of our Saviour Jesus, whose gift all is.

And, finally, to know that whatsoever good thing is in us, that same is the gift of grace, and therefore not of deserving, though many things be given of God, through our diligence in working his laws and chastising our bodies, and in praying for them and believing his promises, which else should not be given us; yet, our working deserveth not the gifts, no more than the diligence of a merchant in seeking a good ship, bringeth the goods safe to land, though such diligence doth now and then help thereto. But when we believe in God, and then do all that is in our might, and not tempt him, then is God true to abide by his promise, and to help us, and perform alone, when our strength is past.

These things, I say, to know, is to have all the Scriptures unlocked and opened before thee, so that if thou wilt go in and read, thou canst not but understand. And in these things to be ignorant, is to have all the Scripture locked up, so that the more thou readest it, the blinder thou art, and the more contrariety thou findest in it, and the more tangled art thou therein, and canst no where through. For

if thou add a gloss in one place, in another it will not serve. And therefore, because we be never taught the profession of our baptism, we remain always unlearned, as well the spirituality, for all their great clergy and high schools (as we say) as the lay people. And now because the lay and unlearned people are taught these first principles of our profession, therefore they read the Scripture and understand and delight therein. And our great pillars of holy church, which have nailed a vail of false glosses on Moses's face, to corrupt the true understanding of his law, cannot come in. And therefore bark, and say the Scripture maketh heretics, and it is not possible for them to understand it in English, because they themselves do not in Latin. And of pure malice that they cannot have their will, they slay their brethren for their faith they have in our Saviour, and therewith utter their bloody wolfish tyranny, and what they be within, and whose disciples. Herewith, reader, be committed unto the grace of our Saviour Jesus, unto whom and God our Father, through him, be praise for ever and ever. Amen.

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The above tract is given entire from the original, at page 377.

*A Protestation made by WILLIAM TINDAL, touching the Resurrection of the Bodies, and the State of the Souls after this Life.—Abstracted out of a Preface of his, that he made to the New Testament, which he set forth in the Year 1534.*

CONCERNING the resurrection, I protest before God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, and before the universal congregation that believeth in him, that I believe according to the open and manifest Scriptures and Catholic faith, that Christ is risen again in the flesh, which he received of his mother the blessed Virgin Mary, and body wherein he died. And that we shall all, both good and bad, rise both flesh and body, and appear together before the judgment-seat of Christ, to receive every man according to his deeds. And that the bodies of all that believe and continue in the true faith of Christ, shall be endued with like immortality and glory, as is the body of Christ.

And I protest before God and our Saviour Christ, and all that believe in him, that I hold of the souls that are departed, as much as may be proved by manifest and open Scripture; and think the souls departed in the faith of Christ and love of the law of God, to be in no worse case than the soul of Christ was from the time that he delivered his spirit into the hands of his Father, until the resurrection of his body in glory and immortality. Nevertheless I confess openly, that I am not persuaded that they be already in the full glory that Christ is in, or the elect angels of God are in. Neither is it any article of my faith: for if it so were, I see not but then the preaching of the resurrection of the flesh were a thing in vain. Notwithstanding yet I am ready to believe it, if it may be proved with open Scripture. Moreover, I take God (which alone seeth the heart) to record to my conscience, beseeching him that my part be not in the blood of Christ, if I wrote of all

that I have written throughout all my book ought of an evil purpose, of envy or malice to any man, or to stir up any false doctrine or opinion in the church of Christ, or to be the author of any sect, or to draw disciples after me, or that I would be esteemed or had in price above the least child that is born : save only of pity and compassion I had, and yet have, on the blindness of my brethren, and to bring them unto the knowledge of Christ, and to make every one of them, if it were possible, as perfect as an angel of heaven ; and to weed out all that is not planted of our heavenly Father, and to bring down all that lifteth up itself against the knowledge of the salvation that is in the blood of Christ : also, my part be not in Christ, if mine heart be not to follow and live according as I teach ; and also if mine heart weep not night and day for mine own sin, and other men's indifferently, beseeching God to convert us all, and to take his wrath from us, and to be merciful as well to all other men, as to mine own soul ; caring for the wealth of the realm I was born in, for the king, and all that are thereof, as a tender-hearted mother would do for her only son.

As concerning all I have translated, or otherwise written, I beseech all men to read it, for that purpose I wrote it, even to bring them to the knowledge of the Scripture, and as far as the Scripture approveth it, so far to allow it, and if in any place the word of God disallow it, there to refuse it, as I do before our Saviour Christ and his congregation. And where they find faults, let them shew it me, if they be nigh ; or write to me, if they be far off ; or write openly against it and improve it ; and I promise them, if I shall perceive that their reasons conclude, I will confess mine ignorance openly.

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The above Protestation is prefixed to page 1 of his works.

*The Conclusion of "the Prologue of the Prophet Jonah, made by WILLIAM TINDAL," (at Page 23 of his Works,) beginning at Page 30.*

ON this manner to read the Scripture is the right use thereof, and why the Holy Ghost caused it to be written. That is, that thou first seek out the law, that God will have thee to do, interpreting it spiritually, without gloss or covering the brightness of Moses's face, so that thou feel in thine heart, how that it is damnable sin before God, not to love thy neighbour that is thine enemy, as purely as Christ loved thee, and that not to love thy neighbour in thine heart, is to have committed already all sin against him. And, therefore, until that love be come, thou must knowledge unfeignedly that there is sin in the best deed thou doest. And it must earnestly grieve thine heart, and thou must wash all thy good deeds in Christ's blood, ere they can be pure, and an acceptable sacrifice unto God, and must desire God the Father, for his sake, to take thy deeds a worth, and to pardon the imperfectness of them, and to give thee power to do them better and with more fervent love.

And on the other side, thou must search diligently for the promises of mercy, which God hath promised thee again; which two points, that is to wit, the law spiritually interpreted, how that all is damnable sin, that is not unfeigned love out of the ground and bottom of the heart, after the ensample of Christ's love to us, because we be all equally created and formed of one God our Father, and indifferently bought, and redeemed with one blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ: and that the promises be given unto a repenting soul, that thirsteth and longeth after them, of the pure and fatherly mercy of God, through our faith only, without all deserving of our deeds or merits of our works, but for Christ's sake alone, and

for the merits and deservings of his works, death and passions, that he suffered altogether for us, and not for himself: which two points, I say, if they be written in thine heart, are the keys which so open all the Scripture unto thee, that no creature can lock thee out, and with which thou shalt go in and out, and find pasture and food every where. And if these lessons be not written in thine heart, then is all the Scripture shut up, as a kernel in the shell, so that thou mayest read it and comment of it, and rehearse all the stories of it, and dispute wittily, and be a profound sophister, and yet understand not one jot thereof. And thirdly, that thou take the stories and lives which are contained in the Bible, for sure and undoubted ensamples, that God will so deal with us unto the world's end.

Herewith, reader, farewell, and be commended unto God, and unto the grace of his Spirit. And first see that thou stop not thine ears unto the calling of God, and harden not thine heart beguiled with fleshly interpreting of the law, and false imagined and hypocritical righteousness, lest then the Ninevites rise with thee at the day of judgment, and condemn thee.

And secondarily, if thou find ought amiss, when thou seest thyself in the glass of God's word, think it necessary wisdom, to amend the same betimes, monished and warned by the ensample of other men, rather than to tarry until thou be beaten also.

And thirdly, if it shall so chance, that the wild lusts of thy flesh shall blind thee, and carry thee clean away with them for a time: yet at the latter end, when the God of all mercy shall have compassed thee in on every side with temptations, tribulation, adversities and cumbrance to bring thee home again unto thine own heart, and to set thy sins, which thou wouldest so fain cover, and put out of mind with

delectation of voluptuous pastimes, before the eyes of thy conscience; then call the faithful ensample of Jonah, and all like stories unto thy remembrance, and with Jonah turn unto thy Father that smote thee, not to cast thee away, but to lay a corrosive, and a fretting plaster unto the pock, that lay hid and fret inward, to draw the disease out, and to make it appear, that thou mightest feel thy sickness, and the danger thereof, and come and receive the healing plaster of mercy. And forget not that whatsoever ensample of mercy, God hath shewed since the beginning of the world, the same is promised thee, if thou wilt in like manner turn again and receive it as they did, and with Jonah be aknowen of thy sin and confess it, and knowledge it unto thy Father.

And as the law which fretteth thy conscience is in thine heart, and is none outward thing, even so seek within thy heart the plaster of mercy, the promises of forgiveness in our Saviour Jesus Christ, according unto all the ensamples of mercy that are gone before.

And with Jonah let them that wait on vanities, and seek God here and there, and in every temple save in their hearts, go; and seek thou the testament of God in thine heart. For in thine heart is the word of the law, and in thine heart is the word of faith, in the promises of mercy in Jesus Christ. So that if thou confess with a repenting heart and knowledge, and surely believe that Jesus is Lord over all sin, thou art safe.

And finally, when the rage of thy conscience is ceased, and quieted with fast faith in the promises of mercy, then offer with Jonah the offering of praise and thanksgiving, and pay the vow of thy baptism, that God only saveth, of his only mercy and goodness: that is, believe stedfastly and preach constantly, that it is God only that smiteth, and God only that healeth: ascribing the cause of thy tribulation unto thine own sin, and the cause of thy deliverance



unto the mercy of God. And beware of the leaven that saith we have power in our free will before the preaching of the Gospel; to deserve grace, and to keep the law of congruity, or God to be unrighteous. And say with John in the first, that as the law given by Moses, even so grace to fulfil it, is given by Christ: And when they say, 'our deeds with grace deserve heaven, say thou with Paul (Rom. vi.) that "Everlasting life is the gift of God through Jesus Christ our Lord," "And that we be made sons by faith." (John, i.) "And therefore heirs of God with Christ." (Rom. viii.) And say that we receive all of God through faith, that followeth repentance, and that we do not our works unto God, but either unto ourselves, to slay the sin that remaineth in the flesh, and to wax perfect, either unto our neighbours, which do as much for us again in other things. And when a man exceedeth in gifts of grace, let him understand that they be given him, as well for his weak brethren, as for himself: as though all the bread be committed unto the panter, yet for his fellows with him, which give the thanks unto their Lord, and recompense the panter again, with other kind service in their offices. And when they say that Christ hath made no satisfaction for the sin we do after our baptism: say thou with the doctrine of Paul, that in our baptism we receive the merits of Christ's death through repentance, and faith, of which two, baptism is the sign. And though when we sin of frailty after our baptism, we receive the sign no more, yet we be renewed again through repentance, and faith in Christ's blood, of which twain, the sign of baptism even continued among us in baptising our young children, doth ever keep us in mind, and call us back again unto our profession, if we be gone astray, and promiseth us forgiveness. Neither can actual sin be washed away with our works, but with Christ's blood;

neither can there be any other sacrifice or satisfaction to Godward for them, save Christ's blood. Forasmuch as we can do no works unto God, but receive only of his mercy, with our repenting faith, through Jesus Christ our Lord and only Saviour: unto whom and unto God our Father, through him, and unto his Holy Spirit, that only purgeth, sanctifieth and washeth us in the innocent blood of our redemption, be praise for ever. Amen.

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The foregoing Extract, and the following Prologues to books of the New Testament have been compared with, and some sentences inserted from an edition of the Bible, containing all Tindal's prefaces and prologues, with a dedication to king Edward the Sixth, by Edmund Beck, printed by John Day, cum gratia et privilegio ad imprimendum solum, and bearing the date of 1549.

*A Prologue upon the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans, by WILLIAM TINDAL; beginning at Page 39 of his Works.*

FORASMUCH as this Epistle is the principal and most excellent part of the New Testament and most pure Euangelion, that is to say, glad tidings and that we call gospel, and also a light and a way in, unto the whole Scripture. I think it meet that every Christian man not only know it, by heart and without book, but also exercise himself therein evermore continually, as with the daily bread of the soul. No man verily can read it too oft, or study it too well, for the more it is studied, the easier it is, the more it is chewed, the pleasanter it is, and the more groundly it is searched, the preciouser things are found in it, so great treasure of spiritual things lieth hid therein. I will therefore bestow my labour and diligence, through this little preface or prologue, to prepare a way in thereunto, so far forth as God shall give me grace, that it may be the better understood of every man; for it hath been hitherto evil darkened with glosses, and wonderful dreams of sophisters, that no man could spy out the intent, and meaning of it, which nevertheless of itself, is a bright light, and sufficient to give light unto all the Scripture.

First we must mark diligently the manner of speaking of the Apostle, and above all things, know what Paul meaneth by these words, the law, sin, grace, faith, righteousness, flesh, spirit and such like, or else read thou it never so oft, thou shalt but lose thy labour. This word law must not be understood here, after the common manner, and to use Paul's term, after the manner of men, or after man's ways: that thou wouldest say the law here in this place were nothing but learning which teacheth what ought to

be done, and what ought not to be done; as it goeth with man's law, where the law is fulfilled with outward works only, though the heart be never so far off; but God judgeth the ground of the heart, yea and the thoughts and the secret movings of the mind, and therefore his law requireth the ground of the heart, and love from the bottom thereof, and is not content with the outward work only, but rebuketh those works most of all, which spring not of love from the ground, and low bottom of the heart, though they appear outward, never so honest and good, as Christ in the Gospel rebuketh the Pharisees above all others that were open sinners, and calleth them hypocrites, that is to say, simulars, and painted sepulchres: which Pharisees yet lived no men so pure, as pertaining to the outward deeds, and works of the law, yea and Paul (iii. Phil.) confesseth of himself that as touching the law, he was such a one, as no man could complain on, and notwithstanding was yet a murderer of the Christians, persecuted them, and tormented them so sore, that he compelled them to blaspheme Christ, and was altogether merciless, as many, which now feign outward good works, are.

For this cause the 115 Psalm calleth all men liars, because that no man keepeth the law from the ground of the heart, neither can keep it, though he appear outward full of good works. For all men are naturally inclined unto evil and hate the law, we find in ourselves unlust, and tediousness to do good, but lust and delectation to do evil. Now where no free lust is to do good, there the bottom of the heart fulfilleth not the law, and there no doubt is also sin, and wrath is deserved before God, though there be never so great an outward show, and appearance of honest living.

For this cause concludeth St. Paul in the second

chapter that the Jews all are sinners and transgressors of the law, though they make men believe through hypocrisy of outward works, how that they fulfil the law; and saith, that he only which doth the law is righteous before God, meaning thereby that no man with outward works, fulfilleth the law.

“Thou” (saith he to the Jew) “teachest that a man should not break wedlock, and yet breakest wedlock thyself. Wherein thou judgest another man, therein condemnest thou thyself, for thou thyself doest even the very same things which thou judgest.” As though he would say, Thou livest outwardly well in the works of the law, and judgest them that live not so: thou teachest other men: and seest a mote in another man’s eye, but art not aware of the beam that is in thine own eye. For though thou keep the law outwardly with works, for fear of rebuke, shame and punishment, either for love of reward, advantage and vain glory, yet doest thou all without lust and love toward the law, and hadest liever a great deal otherwise do, if thou didst not fear the law, yea inwardly in thine heart, thou wouldest that there were no law, no nor yet God, the author and avenger of the law (if it were possible), so painful it is unto thee, to have thine appetites refrained, and to be kept down.

Wherefore then it is a plain conclusion, that thou from the ground and bottom of thine heart art an enemy to the law. What prevaieth it now, that thou teachest another man not to steal, when thou thine own self art a thief in thine heart, and outwardly wouldest fain steal if thou durst? Though that the outward deeds abide not alway behind with such hypocrites and dissemblers; but break forth among, even as an evil scab or pock cannot always be kept in with violence of medicine. Thou teachest another man, but teachest not thyself, yea thou

wottest not what thou teachest, for thou understandest not the law aright, how that it cannot be fulfilled and satisfied, but with an unfeigned love and affection; much less can it be fulfilled with outward deeds, and works only. Moreover the law increaseth sin, as he saith (chap. v.) because that man is an enemy to the law, forasmuch as it requireth so many things clean contrary to his nature, whereof he is not able to fulfil one point or tittle, as the law requireth it. And therefore are we more provoked and have greater lust to break it.

For which cause sake he saith (chap. vii.) that the law is spiritual, as though he would say, if the law were fleshly, and but man's doctrine, it might be fulfilled, satisfied and stilled with outward deeds. But now is the law ghostly, and no man fulfilleth it, except that all that he doth spring of love from the bottom of the heart. Such a new heart and lusty courage unto the lawward canst thou never come by of thine own strength and enforcement, but by the operation and working of the Spirit. For the Spirit of God only maketh a man spiritual and like unto the law, so that now henceforth he doth nothing of fear, or for lucre or advantage sake, or of vain glory, but of a free heart and inward lust. The law is spiritual and will be both loved, and fulfilled of a spiritual heart, and therefore of necessity requireth it the Spirit, that maketh a man's heart free, and giveth him lust and courage unto the lawward. Where such a spirit is not, there remaineth sin, grudging and hatred against the law, which law nevertheless is good, righteous and holy. Acquaint thyself therefore with the manner of speaking of the Apostle, and let this now stick fast in thine heart, that it is not both one, to do the deeds and works of the law, and to fulfil the law. The work of the law, is whatsoever a man doeth, or can do of his own

free-will, of his own proper strength and enforcing. Notwithstanding though there be never so great working, yet as long as there remaineth in the heart, unlust, tediousness, grudging, grief, pain, loathsomeness and compulsion toward the law, so long are all the works unprofitable, lost, yea and damnable in the sight of God. This meaneth Paul (chap. iii.) where he saith, "By the deeds of the law shall no flesh be justified in the sight of God." Hereby perceivest thou, that those sophisters are but deceivers, which teach that a man may and must prepare himself to grace and to the favour of God with good works before he has the Spirit and true faith of Christ. How can they prepare themselves unto the favour of God and to that which is good, when they themselves can do no good, no cannot once think a good thought or consent to do good, the devil possessing their hearts, minds and thoughts captive at his pleasure? Can those works please God, thinkest thou, which are done with grief, pain and tediousness, with an evil will, with a contrary and a grudging mind? O holy saint Prosperus, how mightily with the scripture of Paul didst thou confound this heresy, about 1200 years ago or thereupon. To fulfil the law is to do the works thereof, and whatsoever the law commandeth with love, lust and inward affection and delectation, and to live godly and well, freely, willingly, and without compulsion of the law, even as though there were no law at all. Such lust and free liberty to love the law, cometh only by the working of the Spirit in the heart, as he saith (chap. i.). Now is the Spirit none otherwise given, than by faith only, in that we believe the promises of God, without wavering, how that God is true, and will fulfil all his good promises towards us for Christ's blood sake, as it is plain (chap. i.), "I am not ashamed," saith Paul, "of Christ's glad tidings,

for it is the power of God unto salvation to as many as believe," for at once and together even as we believe the glad tidings preached to us, the Holy Ghost entereth into our hearts, and looseth the bonds of the devil, which before possessed our hearts in captivity, and held them that we could have no lust to the will of God in the law, and as the Spirit cometh by faith only, even so faith cometh by hearing the word of God, when Christ is preached how that he is God's son and man also, dead and risen again for our sakes, as he saith (in chap. iii. iv. x.). All our justifying then cometh by faith, and faith and the Spirit come of God, and not of us. When we say, faith bringeth the Spirit, it is not to be understood, that faith deserveth the Spirit, or that the Spirit is not present in us before faith. For the Spirit is ever in us, and faith is the gift and working of the Spirit. But through preaching, the Spirit beginneth to work in us.

And as by preaching the law, he worketh the fear of God : so by preaching the glad tidings, he worketh faith. And now when we believe, and are come under the covenant of God, then are we sure of the Spirit by the promise of God, and then the Spirit accompanieth faith inseparably, and we begin to feel his working. And so faith certifieth us of the Spirit, and also bringeth the Spirit with her, unto the working of all other gifts of grace, and to the working out of the rest of our salvation, until we have altogether overcome sin, death, hell and Satan, and are come unto the everlasting life of glory. And for this cause say we faith bringeth the Spirit.

Hereof cometh it, that faith only justifieth, maketh righteous, and fulfilleth the law ; for it bringeth the Spirit through Christ's deservings ; the Spirit bringeth lust, looseth the heart, maketh him free, setteth him at liberty, and giveth him strength



to work the deeds of the law with love, even as the law requireth, then at the last out of the same faith, so working in the heart-spring all good works by their own accord. That meaneth he in the third chapter, for after he had cast away the works of the law, so that he soundeth as though he would break, and disannul the law through faith, he answereth to that might be laid against him, saying, We destroy not the law through faith, but maintain, farther, or establish the law through faith, that is to say, we fulfil the law through faith.

Sin in the Scripture is not called that outward work only committed by the body, but all the whole business, and whatsoever accompanieth, moveth or stirreth unto the outward deed, and that whence the works spring, as unbelief, proneness and readiness unto the deed in the ground of the heart, with all the powers, affections and appetites, wherewith we can but sin ; so that we say, that a man then sinneth, when he is carried away headlong into sin, altogether as much as he is, of that poisonous inclination and corrupt nature, wherein he was conceived and born : for there is none outward sin committed, except a man be carried away altogether, with life, soul, heart, body, lust and mind thereunto. The Scripture looketh singularly unto the heart, and unto the root and original fountain of all sin, which is unbelief in the bottom of the heart. For as faith only justifieth and bringeth the Spirit and lust into the outward good works : even so unbelief only damnneth and keepeth out the Spirit, provoketh the flesh, and stirreth up lust unto the evil outward works, as it happened to Adam and Eve in Paradise. (Gen. iii.) For this cause Christ calleth sin unbelief, and that notably in John, xvi. " the Spirit," saith he, " shall rebuke the world of sin, because they believe not in me." And (John, viii.) " I am the light of

the world." And therefore (John, xii.) he biddeth them " while they have light, to believe in the light, that ye may be the children of light, for he that walketh in darkness wotteth not where he goeth." Now as Christ is the light, so is the ignorance of Christ that darkness whereof he speaketh, in which he that walketh, wotteth not whither he goeth : that is, he knoweth not how to work a good work in the sight of God, or what a good work is. And therefore in the ninth he saith, " As long as I am in the world, I am the light of the world ; but there cometh night when no man can work ;" which night is but the ignorance of Christ, in which no man can see to do any work to please God. And Paul exhorteth (Eph. iv.), " that they walk not as other heathen which are strangers from the life of God, through the ignorance that is in them." And again in the same chapter : " Put off" (saith he) " the old man, which is corrupt through the lusts of error, that is to say, ignorance." And (Rom. xiii.) " Let us cast away the deeds of darkness," that is to say, of ignorance and unbelief. And (1 Pet. i.) " Fashion not yourselves unto your old lusts of ignorance." And (1 John, ii.) " He that loveth his brother dwelleth in light, and he that hateth his brother walketh in darkness, and wotteth not whither he goeth, for darkness hath blinded his eyes." By light he meaneth the knowledge of Christ, and by darkness the ignorance of Christ. For it is impossible that he that knoweth Christ truly, should hate his brother. Furthermore, to perceive this thing more clearly, thou shalt understand, that it is not possible to sin any sin at all, except a man break the first commandment before. Now is the first commandment divided into two verses : " Thy Lord God is one God, and thou shalt love thy Lord God with all thine heart, with all thy soul, with all thy power, and with all thy

might." And the whole cause why I sin against any inferior precept, is that this love is not in mine heart, for were this law written in mine heart, and were full and perfect in my soul; it would keep mine heart from consenting unto any sin. And the whole and only cause why this love is not written in our hearts, is that we believe not the first part, that "our Lord God is one God." For wist I what these words, "one Lord and one God," meaneth, that is to say, if I understand that he made all and ruleth all, and that whatsoever is done to me, whether it be good or bad, is yet his will, and that he only is the Lord, that ruleth and doeth it: and wist thereto what this word, *mine*, meaneth; that is to say, if mine heart believed and felt the infinite benefits and kindness of God to me, and understood and earnestly believed the manifold covenants of mercy, wherewith God hath bound himself, to be mine wholly and altogether with all his power, love, mercy and might; then should I love him with all mine heart, soul, power and might, and of that love ever keep his commandments. So see ye now, that as faith is the mother of all goodness and of all good works: so is unbelief the ground and root of all evil, and all evil works. Finally, if any man that hath forsaken sin, and is converted to put his trust in Christ, and to keep the law of God, do fall at a time: the cause is, that the flesh through negligence hath choked the spirit and oppressed her, and taken from her the food of her strength, which food is her meditation in God, and in his wonderful deeds, and in the manifold covenants of his mercy. Wherefore then before all good works, as good fruits, there must needs be faith in the heart whence they spring. And before all bad deeds, as bad fruits, there must needs be unbelief in the heart, as in the root, fountain, pith and strength of all sin; which unbelief

and ignorance is called the head of the Serpent, and of the old Dragon, which the woman's seed, *Christ*, must tread under foot as it was promised unto Adam.

Grace and gift have this difference. Grace properly is God's favour, benevolence or kind mind, which of his own self, without deserving of us, he beareth to us, whereby he was moved, and inclined to give Christ unto us, with all his other gifts of grace. Gift is the Holy Ghost, and his working which he poureth into the hearts of them, on whom he hath mercy, and whom he favoureth. Though the gifts and the Spirit increase in us daily, and have not yet their full perfection, yea and though there remain in us yet evil lusts and sin, which fight against the Spirit, as he saith here in chap. vii. and Gal. v. and as it was spoken before in the iii. Gen. of the debate between the woman's seed and the seed of the serpent, yet nevertheless God's favour is so great and so strong over us for Christ's sake, that we are counted for full whole, and perfect before God. For God's favour toward us, divideth not herself, increasing a little and a little, as do the gifts, but receiveth us whole and altogether in full love for Christ's sake, our intercessor and mediator, and because that the gifts of the Spirit, and the battle between the Spirit and evil lusts are begun in us already.

Of this now understandest thou the vii. chapter, where Paul accuseth himself as a sinner, and yet in the viii. chapter saith, "There is no damnation to them that are in Christ," and that because of the Spirit, and because the gifts of the Spirit are begun in us. Sinners we are, because, the flesh is not full killed and mortified. Nevertheless inasmuch as we believe in Christ, and have the earnest and beginning of the Spirit and would fain be perfect, God is so loving and favourable unto us, that he will not look on such sin, neither will count it as sin, but

will deal with us according to our belief in Christ, and according to his promises which he hath sworn to us, until the sin be full slain and mortified by death.

Faith is not man's opinion and dream, as some imagine and feign, when they hear the story of the Gospel: but when they see that there follow no good works, nor amendment of living, though they hear, yea and can babble many things of faith, then they fall from the right way, and say faith *only* justifieth not; a man must have good works also; if he will be righteous and safe. The cause is when they hear the Gospel or glad tidings, they feign of their own strength certain imaginations and thoughts in their hearts, saying: "I have heard the Gospel, I remember the story, lo! I believe," and that, they count right faith, which nevertheless as it is but man's imagination and feigning, even so profiteth it not, neither follow there any good works, or amendment of living.

But right faith is a thing wrought by the Holy Ghost in us, which changeth us, turneth us into a new nature, and begetteth us anew in God, and maketh us the sons of God (as thou readest in the first of John), and killeth the old Adam, and maketh us altogether new in the heart, mind, will, lust and in all other affections and powers of the soul, the Holy Ghost ever accompanying her and ruling the heart. Faith is a lively thing, mighty in working, valiant and strong, ever doing, ever fruitful, so that it is impossible, that he which is endued therewith, should not work always good works without ceasing. He asketh not whether good works are to be done or not, but hath done them already, ere mention be made of them, and is alway doing, for such is his nature; for quick faith in his heart and lively moving of the Spirit, drive and stir him thereunto. Who-

soever doth not good works, is an unbelieving person and faithless, and looketh round about him, groping after faith and good works, and wotteth not what faith or good works mean, though he babble never so many things of faith and good works.

Faith is then a lively and stedfast trust in the favour of God, wherewith we commit ourselves altogether unto God, and that trust is so surely grounded, and sticketh so fast in our hearts, that a man would not once doubt of it, though he should die a thousand times therefore.

And such trust wrought by the Holy Ghost through faith, maketh a man glad, lusty, cheerful and true hearted unto God and unto all creatures. By the means whereof, willingly and without compulsion he is glad, and ready to do good to every man, to do service to every man, to suffer all things, that God may be loved and praised, which hath given him such grace, so that it is impossible to separate good works from faith, even as it is impossible to separate heat and burning from fire. Therefore take heed to thyself, and beware of thine own fantasies and imaginations, which to judge of faith and good works will seem wise, when indeed they are stark blind, and of all things most foolish. Pray God that he will vouchsafe to work faith in thine heart, or else shalt thou remain evermore faithless; feign thou, imagine thou, enforce thou; wrestle with thyself, and do what thou wilt or canst.

Righteousness is even *such* faith, and is called God's righteousness or righteousness that is of value before God. For it is God's gift, and it altereth a man, and changeth him into a new spiritual nature, and maketh him free and liberal, to pay every man his duty. For through faith a man is purged of his sins, and obtaineth lust unto the law of God; whereby he giveth God his honour, and payeth him that

he oweth him, and unto men he doth service willingly, wherewithsoever he can, and payeth every man his duty. Such righteousness can nature, free-will and our own strength never bring to pass; for as no man can give himself faith, so can he not take away unbelief, how then can he take away any sin at all? wherefore all is false hypocrisy and sin, whatsoever is done without faith or in unbelief, as it is evident in the xiv. Rom. though it appear never so glorious or beautiful outward.

Flesh and Spirit mayest thou not here understand, as though flesh were only that which pertaineth unto unchastity, and the Spirit that which inwardly pertaineth unto the heart: but Paul calleth flesh here as Christ doth (John, iii.). All that is born of flesh, *i. e.* to wit, the whole man, with life, soul, body, wit, will, reason and whatsoever he is, or doth within and without, because that these all, and all that is in man study after the world and the flesh. Call flesh therefore whatsoever (as long as we are without the Spirit of God) we think or speak of God, of faith, of good works and of spiritual matters. Call flesh also all works which are done without grace, and without the working of the Spirit, howsoever good, holy and spiritual they seem to be, as thou mayest prove by Gal. v. where Paul numbereth worshipping of idols, witchcraft, envy and hate, among the deeds of the flesh; and by Rom. viii. where he saith that the law by the reason of the flesh is weak, which is not understood of unchastity only, but of all sins, and most specially of unbelief, which is a vice most spiritual and ground of all sins.

And as thou callest him which is not renewed in the Spirit, and born again in Christ's flesh, and all his deeds, even the very motions of his heart, and mind, his learning, doctrine and contemplation of

high things, his preaching, teaching, and study in the Scriptures, building of churches, founding of abbeys, giving of alms, mass, mattins; and whatsoever he doth, though it seem spiritual, and after the laws of God, fleshly; so contrariwise call him spiritual which is renewed in Christ, and all his deeds which spring of faith, seem they never so gross, as the washing of the disciples feet done by Christ, and Peter's fishing after the resurrection, yea and all the deeds of matrimony are pure and spiritual, if they proceed of faith, and whatsoever is done within the laws of God, though it be wrought by the body, as the very wiping of shoes and such like, howsoever gross they appear outward; without such understanding of these words, canst thou never understand this epistle of Paul, neither any other place in the Holy Scripture. Take heed therefore, for whosoever understandeth these words otherwise, the same understandeth not Paul, whatsoever he be.

Now we will prepare ourselves unto the Epistle.

Forasmuch as it becometh the preacher of Christ's glad tidings, first, through opening of the law, to rebuke all things, and to prove all things sin, that proceed not of the Spirit, and of faith in Christ, and to prove all men sinners, and children of wrath by inheritance, and how that sin is their nature, and that by nature they can no otherwise do than sin, and therewith to abate the pride of man, and to bring him unto the knowledge of himself and of his misery and wretchedness, that he might desire help. Even so doth St. Paul, and beginneth in the first chapter to rebuke unbelief and gross sins, which all men see as the idolatry, and as the gross sins of the heathen were, and as the sins now are of all them, which live in ignorance without faith, and without the favour of God, and saith, "The wrath of God of heaven appeareth through the Gospel upon all



men for their ungodly and unholy living." For though it be known and daily understood by the creatures, that there is but one God, yet is nature of herself, without the spirit and grace, so corrupt and so poisoned, that men neither can thank him, neither worship him, neither give him his due honour, but blind themselves, and fall without ceasing into worse case, even until they come into worshipping of images, and working of shameful sins, which are abominable and against nature, and moreover suffer the shame unrebuked in others, having delectation and pleasure therein.

In the second chapter he proceedeth further, and rebuketh all those holy people also, which without lust and love to the law, live well outwardly in the face of the world, and condemn others gladly, as the nature of all hypocrites is, to think themselves pure in respect of open sinners, and yet hate the law inwardly, and are full of covetousness and envy and of all uncleanness. (Matt. xxiii.) These are they which despise the goodness of God, and according to the hardness of their hearts, heap together for themselves the wrath of God. Furthermore, St. Paul, as a true expounder of the law, suffereth no man to be without sin, but declareth that all they are under sin, which of freewill and of nature will live well, and suffereth them not to be better than the open sinners, yea he calleth them hard-hearted and such as cannot repent.

In the third chapter he mingleth both together, both the Jews and the Gentiles, and saith, that the one is as the other, both sinners, and no difference between them, save in this only, that the Jews had the word of God committed unto them. And though many of them believed not thereon, yet is God's truth and promise thereby neither hurt nor minished; and he taketh in his way, and allegeth the saying in the fifty-first Psalm, that "God might abide true in

his words, and overcome when he is judged." After that he returneth to his purpose again, and proveth by the Scripture, that all men without difference or exception are sinners, and that by the works of the law no man is justified: but that the law was given to utter and to declare sin only. Then he beginneth and sheweth the right way unto righteousness, by what means we must be made righteous, and saith, they are all sinners and without praise before God, and must without their own deserving be made righteous through faith in Christ, which hath deserved such righteousness for us, and is become unto us God's mercy-stool, for the remission of sins that are past; thereby proving that Christ's righteousness, which cometh on us through faith, helpeth us only: which righteousness (saith he) is now declared through the Gospel, and was testified of before, by the law and the prophets. Furthermore (saith he), the law is holpen and furthered through faith, though that the works thereof, with all their boast are brought to nought, and proved not to justify.

In the fourth chapter (after that now by the three first chapters the sins are opened and the way of faith unto righteousness laid) he beginneth to answer unto certain objections and cavillations. And first he putteth forth these blind reasons, which commonly they that will be justified by their own works are wont to make, when they hear that faith only without works justifieth; saying, shall men do no good works? Yea and if faith only justifieth, what needeth a man to study for to do good works? He putteth forth therefore Abraham for an ensample, saying, What did Abraham with his works? Was all in vain? Came his works to no profit? And so concludeth that Abraham without and before all works was justified and made righteous. Insomuch that before the work of circumcision he was praised of the

and Scripture, and called righteous by his faith only. (Gen. xv.) So that he did not the work of circumcision, for to be holpen thereby unto righteousness, which yet God commanded him to do, and was a good work of obedience. So in likewise no doubt none other works help any thing at all unto a man's justifying; but as Abraham's circumcision was an outward sign whereby he declared his righteousness which he had by faith, and his obedience and readiness unto the will of God; even so are all other good works outward signs and outward fruits of faith, and of the Spirit, which justify not a man, but shew that a man is justified already before God inwardly in the heart, through faith and through the Spirit purchased by Christ's blood.

Herewith now stablisheth St. Paul his doctrine of faith, afore rehearsed in the third chapter, and bringeth also testimony of David (in the xxxii. Psalm) which calleth a man blessed, not of works, in that his sin is not reckoned and in that faith is imputed for righteousness, though he abide not afterward without good works, when he is once justified. For we are justified and receive the Spirit for to do good works, neither were it otherwise possible to do good works except we had first the Spirit.

For how is it possible to do any thing well in the sight of God, while we are yet in captivity and bondage under the devil, and the devil possesseth us altogether, and holdeth our hearts, so that we cannot once consent unto the will of God? No man therefore can prevent the Spirit in doing good: the Spirit must first come and wake him out of his sleep, with the thunder of the law and fear him, and shew him his miserable estate and wretchedness, and make him abhor and hate himself and to desire help, and then comfort him again with the pleasant rain of the Gospel, that is to say, with the sweet promises of

God in Christ, and stir up faith in him to believe the promises; then when he believeth the promises, as God was merciful to promise, so is he true to fulfil them, and will give him the Spirit and strength, both to love the will of God, and to work thereafter. So see we that God only (which, according to the Scripture, worketh all in all things) worketh a man's justifying, salvation and health, yea and poureth faith and belief, lust to love God's will, and strength to fulfil the same into us, even as water is poured into a vessel, and that of his good will and purpose, and not of our deservings and merits: God's mercy in promising and truth in fulfilling his promises saveth us, and not we ourselves, and therefore is all laud, praise and glory, to be given unto God for his mercy and truth, and not unto us for our merits and deservings. After that he stretcheth his example out against all other good works of the law, and concludeth that the Jews cannot be Abraham's heirs, because of blood and kindred only, and much less by the works of the law, but must inherit Abraham's faith, if they will be the right heirs of Abraham, for as much as Abraham before the law both of Moses and also of the circumcision was through faith made righteous, and called the father of all them that believe, and not of them that work. Moreover, the law causeth wrath, inasmuch as no man can fulfil it with love and lust, and as long as such grudging, hate and indignation against the law remaineth in the heart, and is not taken away by the Spirit that cometh by faith, so long no doubt the works of the law declare evidently that the wrath of God is upon us and not favour: wherefore faith only receiveth the grace promised unto Abraham. And these ensamples were not written for Abraham's sake only (saith he) but for ours also, to whom if we believe, faith shall be reckoned likewise for righteousness, as he saith in the end of the chapter.

In the fifth chapter he commendeth the fruits and works of faith as are peace, rejoicing in the conscience, inward love to God and man, moreover boldness, trust, confidence and a strong and a lusty mind, and stedfast hope in tribulation and suffering. For all such follow, where the right faith is, for the abundant grace's sake, and gifts of the Spirit, which God hath given us in Christ, in that he gave him to die for us yet his enemies.

Now have we then, that faith only before all works justifieth, and that it followeth not yet therefore, that a man should do no good works, but that the right shapen works, abide not behind, but accompany faith, even as brightness doth the sun, and are called of Paul the fruits of the Spirit. Where the Spirit is, there it is always summer, and there are always good fruits, that is to say, good works. This is Paul's order, that good works spring of the Spirit, the Spirit cometh by faith, and faith cometh by hearing the word of God, when the glad tidings and promises, which God hath made unto us in Christ, are preached truly, and received in the ground of the heart, without wavering or doubting, after that the law hath passed upon us, and hath damned our consciences. Where the word of God is preached purely, and received in the heart, there is faith, the Spirit of God, and there are also good works of necessity, whensoever occasion is given. Where God's word is not purely preached, but men's dreams, traditions, imaginations, inventions, ceremonies and superstition, there is no faith, and consequently no Spirit that cometh from God; and where God's Spirit is not, there can be no good works, even as where an apple-tree is not, there can grow no apples, but there is unbelief, the devil's spirit and evil works. Of this God's Spirit and his fruits, have our holy hypocrites not once known, neither yet tasted how sweet they

are, though they feign many good works of their own imagination to be justified withal, in which is not one crumb of true faith, or spiritual love, or of inward joy, peace and quietness of conscience, forasmuch as they have not the word of God for them, that such works please God, but they are even the rotten fruits of a rotten tree.

After that he breaketh forth and runneth at large, and sheweth whence both sin and righteousness, death and life come. And he compareth Adam and Christ together, thus wise reasoning and disputing, that Christ must needs come as a second Adam, to make us heirs of his righteousness, through a new spiritual birth, without our deservings. Even as the first Adam made us heirs of sin, through the bodily generation, without our deserving: whereby it is evidently known and proved to the uttermost, that no man can bring himself out of sin unto righteousness, no more than he could have withstood, that he was born bodily. And that is proved herewith, forasmuch as the very law of God which of right should have helped, if any thing could have holpen, not only came and brought no help with her, but also increased sin, because that the evil and poisoned nature is offended, and utterly displeased with the law, and the more she is forbid by the law, the more is she provoked and set on fire to fulfil and satisfy her lusts. By the law then we see clearly, that we must needs have Christ to justify us, with his grace, and to help nature.

In the sixth, he setteth forth the chief and principal work of faith, the battle of the Spirit against the flesh, how the Spirit laboureth and enforceth to kill the remnant of sin and lust, which remain in the flesh, after our justifying. And this chapter teacheth us, that we are not so free from sin through faith, that we should henceforth go up and down, idle, careless, and sure of ourselves, as though there

were now no more sin in us. Yet there is sin remaining in us, but it is not reckoned, because of faith and of the Spirit, which fight against it: wherefore we have enough to do all our lives long, to tame our bodies, and to compel the members to obey the Spirit and not the appetites: that thereby we might be like unto Christ's death and resurrection, and might fulfil our baptism, which signifieth the mortifying of sins, and the new life of grace. For this battle ceaseth not in us, until the last breath, and until that sin be utterly slain by the death of the body.

This thing (I mean to tame the body and so forth) we are able to do, saith he, "seeing we are under grace, and not under the law:" what it is, not to be under the law he himself expoundeth. For not to be under the law, is not so to be understood, that every man may do what him lusteth. But not to be under the law, is to have a free heart renewed with the Spirit, so that thou hast lust inwardly of thine own accord, to do that which the law commandeth, without compulsion, yea, though there were no law. For grace, that is to say, God's favour, bringeth us the Spirit, and maketh us love the law, so is there now no more sin, neither is the law now any more against us, but at one, and agreed with us, and we with it. But to be under the law, is to deal with the works of the law, and to work without the Spirit and grace, for so long, no doubt, sin reigneth in us through the law, that is to say, the law declareth that we are under sin, and that sin hath power and dominion over us, seeing we cannot fulfil the law, namely, within the heart, forasmuch as no man of nature favoureth the law, consenteth thereunto, and delighteth therein, which thing is exceeding great sin, that we cannot consent to the law, which law is nothing else save the will of God.

This is the right freedom and liberty from sin, and from the law, whereof he writeth unto the end of this chapter, that it is a freedom to do good only with lust, and to live well without compulsion of the law: wherefore this freedom is a spiritual freedom, which destroyeth not the law, but ministereth that which the law requireth, and wherewith the law is fulfilled, that is to understand lust and love, wherewith the law is stilled, and accuseth us no more, compelleth us no more, neither hath ought to crave of us any more. Even as though thou were in debt to another man, and were not able to pay, two manner of ways mightest thou be loosed; one way, if he would require nothing of thee, and break thine obligation: another way, if some other good man would pay for thee, and give thee as much as thou mightest satisfy thine obligation withal. On this wise hath Christ made us free from the law, and therefore is this no wild fleshly liberty, that should do nought, but that doth all things, and is free from the craving and debt of the law.

In the seventh chapter he confirmeth the same, with a similitude of the state of matrimony. As when the husband dieth, the wife is at liberty, and the one loosed and departed from the other, not that the woman should not have the power to marry unto another man; but rather now first of all is she free, and hath power to marry unto another man, which she could not do before, till she was loosed from her first husband. Even so are our consciences bound, and in danger to the law under old Adam, the *flesh*, as long as he liveth in us, for the law declareth that our hearts are bound, and that we cannot dissent from him, but when he is mortified and killed, by the Spirit: then is the conscience free and at liberty, not so that the conscience shall now nought do, but now first of all cleaveth unto another, that is to wit,



Christ, and bringeth forth the fruits of life. So now to be under the law, is not to be able to fulfil the law, but to be debtor to it, and not able to pay that which the law requireth. And to be loosed from the law, is to fulfil it, and to pay that which the law demandeth, so that it can now henceforth ask thee nought.

Consequently Paul declareth more largely the nature of sin, and of the law, how that through the law, sin reviveth, moveth herself, and gathereth strength. For the old man and corrupt nature, the more he is forbidden and kept under the law, is the more offended and displeased therewith, forasmuch as he cannot pay that which is required of the law. For sin is his nature, and of himself he cannot but sin. Therefore is the law death to him, torment and martyrdom. Not that the law is evil, but because that the evil nature cannot suffer that which is good, and cannot abide that the law should require of him any good thing: like as a sick man cannot suffer that a man should desire of him to run, to leap, and to do other deeds of a whole man.

For which cause St. Paul concludeth, that where the law is understood and perceived in the best wise, there it doth no more, but utter sin, and bring us unto the knowledge of ourselves, and thereby kill us, and make us bound unto eternal damnation, and debtors of the everlasting wrath of God, even as he well feeleth and understandeth, whose conscience is truly touched of the law. In such danger were we, ere the law came, that we knew not what sin meant, neither yet know we the wrath of God upon sinners, till the law had uttered it. So seest thou that a man must have some other thing, yea and a greater and a more mighty thing than the law, to make him righteous and safe. They that understand not the law on this wise, are blind and go to work presumptuously.

tuously, supposing to satisfy the law with works. For they know not that the law requireth a free, a willing, a lusty and a loving heart. Therefore they see not Moses right in the face, the vail hangeth between, and hideth his face, so that they cannot behold the glory of his countenance, how that the law is spiritual, and requireth the heart. I may of mine own strength refrain that I do mine enemy no hurt, but to love him with all mine heart, and to put away wrath clean out of my mind, can I not of mine own strength. I may refuse money, of mine own strength, but to put away love unto riches out of mine heart, can I not do of mine own strength. To abstain from adultery (as concerning the outward deed) can I do of mine own strength, but not to desire in mine heart, is as impossible to me, as is to choose whether I will hunger or thirst, and yet so the law requireth: wherefore of a man's own strength is the law never fulfilled; we must have thereunto God's favour and his Spirit, purchased by Christ's blood. Nevertheless when I say a man may do many things outwardly clean against his heart, we must understand that man is but driven of divers appetites, and the greatest appetite overcometh the less' and carrieth the man away violently with her.

As when I desire vengeance, and fear also the inconvenience that is like to follow, if fear be greater, I abstain; if the appetite that desireth vengeance be greater, I cannot but prosecute the deed, as we see by experience in many murderers and thieves, which though they be brought into never so great peril of death, yet after they have escaped, do even the same again: and common women prosecute their lusts because fear and shame are away, when others which have the same appetites in their hearts, abstain at the least way outwardly, or work secretly, being overcome of fear and of shame; and so likewise is it of all other appetites.

Furthermore he declareth, how the Spirit and the flesh fight together in one man, and maketh an example of himself, that we might learn to know that work aright, I mean to kill sin in ourselves. He calleth both the Spirit and also the flesh a law, because that like as the nature of God's law, is to drive, to compel, and to crave, even so the flesh driveth, compelleth, craveth, and rageth, against the Spirit, and will have her lusts satisfied. On the other side driveth the Spirit, crieth and fighteth against the flesh; and will have his lust satisfied. And this strife dureth in us, as long as we live, in some more and in some less, as the Spirit or the flesh is stronger; and the very man his own self is both the Spirit and the flesh, which fighteth with his own self, until sin be utterly slain, and be altogether spiritual.

In the eighth chapter he comforteth such fighters, that they despair not because of such flesh, either think that they are less in favour with God. And he sheweth how that the sin remaining in us hurteth not, "for there is no danger to them, that are in Christ, which walk not after the flesh," but fight against it. And he expoundeth more largely what the nature of the flesh, and of the Spirit is; and how the Spirit cometh by Christ, which Spirit maketh us spiritual, tameth, subdueth, and mortifieth the flesh, and certifieth us that we are nevertheless the sons of God and also beloved, though that sin rage never so much in us, so long as we follow the Spirit, and fight against sin to kill and mortify it. And because nothing is so good to the mortifying of the flesh, as the cross and tribulation; he comforteth us in our passions and afflictions by the assistance of the Spirit, "which maketh intercession to God for us mightily with groanings that pass man's utterance;" man's speech cannot comprehend them, and the creatures mourn also with us

of great desire that they have, that we were loosed from sin, and corruption of the flesh. So see we that those three chapters, the sixth, seventh, and eighth, do nothing so much as to drive us unto the right work of faith, which is to kill the old man and mortify the flesh.

In the ninth, tenth, and eleventh chapters, he treateth of God's predestination, whence it springeth altogether, whether we shall believe or not believe, be loosed from sin, or not be loosed. By which predestination our justifying and salvation, are clean taken out of our hands, and put in the hands of God only, which thing is most necessary of all. For we are so weak and so uncertain, that if it stood in us, there would of a truth no man be saved, the devil no doubt would deceive us. But now is God sure, that his predestination cannot deceive him, neither can any man withstand or let him, and therefore have we hope and trust against sin.

But here must a mark be set unto those unquiet, busy, and high climbing spirits, how far they shall go; which first of all bring hither their high reasons and pregnant wits, and begin first from on high to search the bottomless secrets of God's predestination, whether they be predestinate or not. These must needs either cast themselves down headlong into desperation, or else commit themselves to free chance careless. But follow thou the order of this epistle, and noose thyself with Christ, and learn to understand what the law and the Gospel mean, and the office of both the two, that thou mayest in the one know thyself, and how that thou hast of thyself, no strength but to sin, and in the other the grace of Christ, and then see thou fight against sin and the flesh, as the seven first chapters teach thee. After that when thou art come to the eighth chapter, and art under the cross and suffering of tribulation, the

necessity of predestination will wax sweet, and thou shalt well feel how precious a thing it is. For except thou have born the cross of adversity and temptation, and hast felt thyself brought unto the very brim of desperation, yea and unto hell gates, thou canst never meddle with the sentence of predestination, without thine own harm, and without secret wrath and grudging inwardly against God, for otherwise it shall not be possible for thee to think that God is righteous and just. Therefore must Adam be well mortified, and the fleshly wit brought utterly to nought, ere that thou mayest away with this thing, and drink so strong wine. Take heed therefore unto thyself, that thou drink not wine, while thou art yet but a suckling. For every learning hath her time, measure, and age, and in Christ is there a certain childhood, in which a man must be content with milk for a season, until he wax strong and grow up, unto a perfect man in Christ, and be able to eat of more strong meat.

In the twelfth chapter, he giveth exhortations. For this manner observeth Paul in all his epistles, first, he teacheth Christ and the faith, then exhorteth he to good works, and unto continual mortifying of the flesh. So here teacheth he good works in deed, and the true serving of God, and maketh all men priests, to offer up not money and beasts, as the manner was in the time of the law, but their own bodies with killing and mortifying the lusts of the flesh. After that, he describeth the outward conversation of Christian men, how they ought to behave themselves in spiritual things, how to teach, preach, and rule in the congregation of Christ, to serve one another, to suffer all things patiently, and to commit wreak and vengeance to God: in conclusion, how a Christian man ought to behave himself unto all men, to friend, foe, or whatsoever he be.

These are the right works of a Christian man which spring out of faith: for faith keepeth not holiday, neither suffereth any man to be idle, wheresoever she dwelleth.

In the thirteenth, he teacheth to honour the worldly and temporal sword. For though that man's law and ordinance make not a man good before God, neither justify him in the heart, yet are they ordained for the furtherance of the commonwealth, to maintain peace, to punish the evil, and to defend the good. Therefore ought the good to honour the temporal sword, and to have it in reverence, though as concerning themselves they need it not, but would abstain from evil of their own accord, yea, and do good without man's law, but by the law of the Spirit, which governeth the heart, and guideth it unto all that is the will of God. Finally, he comprehendeth and knitteth up all in love. Love of her own nature bestoweth all that she hath, and even her own self on that which is loved. Thou needest not to bid a kind mother to be loving unto her only son, much less spiritual love, which hath eyes given her of God, needeth man's law to teach her to do her duty. And as in the beginning he did put forth Christ as the cause and author of our righteousness and salvation, even so setteth he him forth, as an ensample to counterfeit, that as he hath done to us, even so should we do one to another.

In the fourteenth chapter he teacheth to deal soberly with the consciences of the weak in the faith, which yet understand not the liberty of Christ perfectly enough, and to favour them of Christian love, and not to use the liberty of the faith unto hindrance, but unto the furtherance and edifying of the weak. For where such consideration is not, there followeth debate and despising of the Gospel. It is better then to forbear the weak awhile until they wax

strong than that the learning should come altogether under foot. And such work is singular work of love, yea and where love is perfect there must needs be such a respect unto the weak, a thing that Christ commanded and charged to be had above all things.

In the fifteenth chapter he setteth forth Christ again to be counterfeited, that we also by his ensample should suffer others that are yet weak, as them that are frail open sinners, unlearned, unexpert, and of loathsome manners, and not to cast them away forthwith, but to suffer them till they wax better and exhort them in the mean time. For so dealt Christ in the Gospel and now dealeth with us daily, suffering our imperfectness, weakness, conversation, and manners not yet fashioned after the doctrine of the Gospel, but smell of the flesh, yea and sometime break forth into outward deeds.

After that to conclude withal he wisheth them increase of faith, peace, and joy of conscience, praiseth them and committeth them to God, and magnifieth his office and administration in the Gospel; and soberly and with great discretion desireth succour and aid of them for the poor saints of Jerusalem, and it is all pure love that he speaketh or dealeth withal. So find we in this epistle plenteously unto the uttermost whatsoever a Christian man or woman ought to know: that is to wit, what the law, the Gospel, sin, grace, faith, righteousness, Christ, God, good works, love, hope, and the cross are; and even wherein the pith of all that pertaineth to the Christian faith standeth, and how a Christian man ought to behave himself unto every man, be he perfect or a sinner, good or bad, strong or weak, friend or foe, and in conclusion, how to behave ourselves both toward God and toward ourselves also. And all things are profoundly grounded in the Scriptures and declared with ensamples of himself, of the fathers, and of the pro-

phets, that a man can here desire no more. Wherefore it appeareth evidently that Paul's mind was to comprehend briefly in his Epistle all the whole learning of Christ's Gospel, and to prepare an introduction unto all the Old Testament. For without doubt, whosoever hath this Epistle perfectly in his heart, the same hath the light and the effect of the Old Testament with him. Wherefore let every man without exception exercise himself therein diligently, and record it night and day continually, until he be full acquainted therewith.

The last chapter is a chapter of recommendation, wherein he yet mingleth a good monition, that we should beware of the traditions and doctrine of men, which beguile the simple with sophistry and learning that is not after the Gospel, and draw them from Christ, and use them in weak and feeble and (as Paul calleth them in the Epistle to the Galatians) in beggarly ceremonies, for the intent that they would live in fat pastures and be in authority and be taken as Christ, yea and above Christ, and sit in the temple of God, that is to wit, in the consciences of men, where God only, his Word and his Christ ought to sit. Compare therefore all manner of doctrine of men unto the Scripture, and see whether they agree or not. And commit thyself whole and altogether unto Christ, and so shall he with his Holy Spirit and with all his fullness dwell in thy soul.

The sum and whole cause of the writing of this Epistle, is to prove that a man is justified by faith only, which proposition whoso denieth, to him is not only this Epistle and all that Paul writeth, but also the whole Scripture so locked up, that he shall never understand it to his soul's health. And to bring a man to the understanding and feeling that faith only justifieth; Paul proveth that the whole nature of man is so poisoned and so corrupt, yea and so dead concern-



ing godly living or godly thinking, that it is impossible for her to keep the law in the sight of God: that is to say, to love it, and of love and lust to do it as naturally as a man eateth or drinketh, until she be quickened again and healed through faith. And by justifying, understand none other thing than to be reconciled to God and to be restored unto his favour, and to have thy sins forgiven thee. As when I say, God justifieth us, understand thereby, that God for Christ's sake, merits and deservings only, receiveth us unto his mercy, favour, and grace, and forgiveth us our sins. And when I say, Christ justifieth, understand thereby, that Christ only hath redeemed us, brought, and delivered us out of the wrath of God and damnation, and hath with his works only, purchased us the mercy, the favour and grace of God, and the forgiveness of our sins. And when I say, that faith justifieth, understand thereby, that faith and trust in the truth of God and in the mercy promised us for Christ's sake, and for his deserving and works only, doth quiet the conscience and certify her that our sins be forgiven, and we in the full favour of God.

Furthermore, set before thine eyes Christ's works and thine own works, Christ's works only justify thee and make satisfaction for thy sin, and not thine own works. That is to say, quieteth thy conscience, and maketh thee sure that thy sins are forgiven thee, and not thine own works. For the promise of mercy is made thee for Christ's work's sake, and not for thine own work's sake.

Wherefore, seeing God hath not promised that thine own works shall save thee, therefore faith in thine own works can never quiet thy conscience, nor certify thee before God (when God cometh to judge and to take a reckoning), that thy sins are forgiven thee. Beyond all this, mine own works can never

satisfy the law, or pay her that I owe her, for I owe the law to love her with all mine heart, soul, power, and might. Which thing to pay I am never able, while I am compassed with flesh. No, I can not once begin to love the law, except I be first sure by faith, that God loveth me and forgiveth me.

Finally, that we say, faith only justifieth, ought to offend no man. For if this be true, that Christ only redeemed us, Christ only bare our sins, made satisfaction for them, and purchased us the favour of God, then must it needs be true that the trust only in Christ's deserving and in the promises of God the Father, made us for Christ's sake, doth only quiet the conscience and certify her, that the sins are forgiven. And when they say, a man must repent, forsake sin, and have a purpose to sin no more, as nigh as he can, and love the law of God; ergo, faith alone justifieth not. I answer that and all like arguments are nought, and like to this. I must repent and be sorry, the Gospel must be preached me, and I must believe, or else I cannot be partaker of mercy, which Christ hath deserved for me. Now go to, reader, and according to the order of Paul's writing, even so do thou. First, behold thyself diligently in the law of God, and see there thy just damnation. Secondly, turn thine eyes to Christ, and see there the exceeding mercy of thy most kind and loving Father. Thirdly, remember that Christ made not this atonement that thou shouldst anger God again: neither died he for thy sins, that thou shouldst live still in them, neither cleansed he thee, that thou shouldst return (as a swine) unto thine old puddle again: but that thou shouldst be a new creature, and live a new life after the will of God, and not of the flesh. And be diligent, lest through thine own negligence and unthankfulness, thou lose this favour and mercy again. Farewell.

*A Prologue upon the Epistle of St. Paul to the Galatians.*

As ye read (Acts, xv.) how certain came from Jerusalem to Antioch and vexed the disciples there, affirming that they could not be saved except they were circumcised; even so after Paul had converted the Galatians and coupled them to Christ to trust in him only for the remission of sin, and hope of grace and salvation, and was departed: there came false apostles unto them (as unto the Corinthians and unto all places where Paul had preached), and that in the name of Peter, James, and John, whom they called the high Apostles, and preached circumcision and the keeping of the law to be saved by, and minished Paul's authority. To the confounding of those, Paul magnifieth his office and apostleship in the two first chapters, and maketh himself equal unto the high Apostles, and concludeth that every man must be justified without deserving, without works, and without help of the law; but alone by Christ. And in the third and fourth, he proveth the same with Scripture examples and similitudes, and sheweth that the law is cause of more sin, and bringeth the curse of God upon us, and justifieth us not; but that justifying cometh of grace, promised us of God, through the deserving of Christ, by whom (if we believe) we are justified without help of the works of the law. And in the fifth and sixth he exhorteth unto the works of love, which follow faith and justifying: so that in all his Epistle he observeth this order. First, he preacheth the damnation of the law; then the justifying of faith; and thirdly, the works of love. For on that condition, that we love henceforth and work, is the mercy given us, or else, if we will not work the will of God henceforward, we fall from favour and grace; and the inheritance that is freely given us for Christ's sake, through our own fault, we lose again,

*A Prologue upon the Second Epistle of St. Peter.*

THIS Epistle was written against them which thought that Christian faith might be idle and without works, when yet the promise of Christ is made us upon that condition, that we henceforth work the will of God, and not of the flesh. Therefore he exhorteth them to exercise themselves diligently in virtue and all good works, thereby to be sure that they have the true faith, as a man knoweth the goodness of a tree by his fruit. Then he commendeth and magnifieth the Gospel, and willeth that men hearken to that only, and to men's doctrine not at all. For as he saith there came no propheticall Scripture by the will of man, but by the will of the Holy Ghost, which only knoweth the will of God : neither is any Scripture of private interpretation, that is to say, may be otherwise expounded, than agreeing to the open places, and general articles, and to the covenants of God, and all the rest of the Scriptures. And therefore, in the second, he warneth them of false teachers that should come, and through preaching confidence in false works to satisfy their covetousness withal, should deny Christ, which he threateneth with three terrible examples ; with the fall of the angels, the flood of Noah, and overthrowing of Sodom and Gomorrah ; and so describeth them with their insatiable covetousness, pride, stubbornness, and disobedience to all temporal rule and authority, with their abominable whoredom and hypocrisy, that a blind man may see that he prophesied it of the pope's holy spirituality, which devoureth the whole world with their covetousness, living in all lust and pleasure and reigning as temporal tyrants. In the third, he sheweth, that in the latter days, the people, through unbelief and lack of fear of the judgment of the last day, shall be even as epicures, wholly given to the flesh :

which last day shall yet surely and shortly come, saith he: for a thousand years and one day is with God all one. And he sheweth also how terrible that day shall be, and how suddenly it shall come, and therefore exhorteth all men to look earnestly for it, and to prepare themselves against it with holy conversation and godly living. Finally, the first chapter sheweth how it should go in the time of the pure and true Gospel. The second, how it should go in the time of the pope and man's doctrine. The third, how at the last men should believe nothing, nor fear God at all.

*The Prologue upon the Epistle of St. James.*

THOUGH this Epistle was refused in the old time, and denied of many to be the Epistle of a very Apostle, and though also it lay not the foundation of the faith of Christ, but speaketh of a general faith in God, neither preacheth his death and resurrection, either the mercy that is laid up in store for us in him, or everlasting covenant made us in his blood, which is the office and duty of a very Apostle, as Christ saith: (John, xv.) "Ye shall testify of me:" yet because it setteth up no man's doctrine, but crieth to keep the law of God, and maketh love which is without partiality the fulfilling of the law, as Christ and all the Apostles did; and hath thereto many good and godly sentences in it; and hath also nothing that is not agreeable to the rest of the Scripture: if it be looked indifferently on, we thinketh it ought of right to be taken for holy Scripture. For, as for that place for which haply it was at the beginning refused of holy men (as it ought if it had meant as they took it, and for which place only, for the false understanding, it hath been chiefly received of the Papists); yet if the circumstances be well pondered, it will appear that the author's intent was far otherwise than they took for. For where he saith, in the second chapter, faith without deeds is dead in itself, he meaneth none other thing than all the Scripture doth: how that that faith which hath no good deeds following, is a false faith, and none of that faith justifieth or receiveth forgiveness of sins. For God promised them only forgiveness of their sins which turn to God to keep his laws; wherefore they that purpose to continue still in sin, have no part in that promise, but deceive themselves if they believe that God hath forgiven them their old sins for Christ's sake. And after, when he saith, that a man is justified by deeds,

and not of faith only; he will no more, than that faith doth not justify every where; that nothing justifieth save faith. For deeds also do justify. And as faith only justifieth before God, so do deeds only justify before the world, whereof is enough spoken, partly in the Prologue on Paul to the Romans, and also in other places. For as Paul affirmeth (Romans, ii.) that Abraham was not justified by works before God, but by faith only, as Genesis beareth record, so will James, that deeds only justified him before the world, and faith wrought with his deeds, that is to say, faith wherewith he was righteous before God in the heart, did cause him to work the will of God outwardly, whereby he was righteous before the world, and whereby the world perceived that he believed in God, loved and feared God. And as (Hebrews, xi.) the Scripture affirmeth that Rahab was justified before God through faith; so doth James affirm that through works, by which she shewed her faith, she was justified before the world; and it is true.

*The Parable of the wicked Mammon.*

“THERE was a certain rich man, which had a steward that was accused unto him that he had wasted his goods. And called him and said unto him, How is it that I hear this of thee? Give accompts of thy stewardship, for thou mayest be no longer my steward. The steward said within himself, What shall I do? for my master will take away from me my stewardship. I cannot dig, and to beg I am ashamed. I wot what to do, that when I am put out of my stewardship they may receive me into their houses. Then called he all his master's debtors, and said unto the first, How much owest thou unto my master? And he said, An hundred tuns of oil, and he said to him, Take thy bill, and sit down quickly, and write fifty. Then he said to another, What owest thou? And he said, An hundred quarters of wheat. He said to him, Take thy bill and write four-score. And the lord commended the unjust steward, because he had done wisely. For the children of this world are in their kind, wiser than the children of light. And I say also unto you, make you friends of the wicked mammon, that when ye shall have need, they may receive you into everlasting habitations.” LUKE, xvi. chapter.

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Forasmuch, as with this and divers such other texts, many have inforced to draw the people from the true faith, and from putting their trust in the truth of God's promises, and in the merits and deservings of his Christ our Lord, and have also brought it to pass (for many false prophets shall arise and deceive many, and much wickedness must also be, saith Christ, Matthew, xxiii. And Paul saith, 2 Tim. iii. evil men and deceivers shall prevail in



evil, while they deceive and are deceived themselves) and have taught them to put their trust in their own merits, and brought them in belief, that they shall be justified in the sight of God, by the goodness of their own works, and have corrupted the pure word of God, to confirm their Aristotle withal. For though that their philosophers and worldly wise men were enemies above all enemies to the Gospel of God: and though the worldly wisdom cannot comprehend the wisdom of God, as thou mayest see, 1 Corinthians, chap. i. and ii. And though worldly righteousness cannot be obedient unto the righteousness of God, Romans, x. ; yet whatsoever they read in Aristotle, that must be first true. And to maintain that, they rend and tear the Scriptures with their distinctions, and expound them violently contrariwise to the meaning of the text, and to the circumstances that go before and after, and to a thousand clear and evident texts: wherefore I have taken in hand to expound this Gospel, and certain other places of the New Testament, and (as far forth as God shall lend me grace) to bring the Scripture unto the right sense, and to dig again the wells of Abraham, and to purge and cleanse them of the earth of worldly wisdom, wherewith these Philistines have stopped them. Which grace grant me God, for the love that he hath unto his Son Jesus our Lord, unto the glory of his name. Amen.

That faith only before all works, and without all merits but Christ's only, justifieth and setteth us at peace with God, is proved by Paul in the first chapter to the Romans. "I am not ashamed (saith he) of the Gospel," that is to say, of the glad tidings and promises which God hath made and sworn to us in Christ. "For it (that is to say the Gospel) is the power of God unto salvation, to all that believe." And it followeth in the foresaid chapter, "the just

or righteous must live by faith." For in the faith which we have in Christ, and in God's promises, find we mercy, life, favour and peace. In the law we find death, damnation and wrath: moreover, the curse and vengeance of God upon us. And it (that is to say the law) is called of Paul, 2 Corinthians, ch. iii. the ministration of death and damnation. In the law we are proved to be the enemies of God, and that we hate him. For how can we be at peace with God and love him, seeing we are conceived and born under the power of the devil, and are his possession and kingdom, his captives and bondmen, and led at his will, and he holdeth our hearts so that it is impossible for us to consent to the will of God; much more is it impossible for a man to fulfil the law of his own strength and power, seeing that we are by birth and of nature, the heirs of eternal damnation. As saith Paul, Ephesians, ii. "we (saith he) are by nature the children of wrath." Which though the law doth but utter only, and helpeth us not, yea requireth impossible things of us. The law, when it commandeth that thou shalt not lust, giveth thee not power so to do, but damneth thee because thou canst not so do.

If thou wilt therefore be at peace with God and love him, thou must turn to the promises of God, and to that Gospel which is called of Paul in the place before rehearsed to the Corinthians, "the ministration of righteousness and of the Spirit." For faith bringeth pardon and forgiveness, freely purchased by Christ's blood, and bringeth also the Spirit; the Spirit looseth the bonds of the devil, and setteth us at liberty. "For where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty," saith Paul, in the same place to the Corinthians, that is to say, there the heart is free, and hath power to love the will of God, and there the heart mourneth that he cannot love

enough. Now is that consent of the heart unto the law of God, eternal life, yea though there be no power yet in the members to fulfil it. "Let every man therefore (according to Paul's counsel, in the vi. chapter to the Ephesians) arm himself with the armour of God," that is to understand, with God's promises, "and above all things (saith he) take unto you the shield of faith, wherewith ye may be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked," that ye may be able to resist in the evil day of temptation, and, namely, at the hour of death. See therefore thou have God's promises in thine heart, and that thou believe them without wavering: and when temptation ariseth, and the devil layeth the law, and thy deeds against thee, answer him with the promises, and turn to God and confess thyself to him, and say it is even so, or else how could he be merciful? but remember that he is the God of mercy, and of truth, and cannot but fulfil his promises. Also, remember that his Son's blood is stronger than all the sins and wickedness of the whole world, and therewith quiet thyself, and thereunto commit thyself, and bless thyself in all temptation (namely at the hour of death), with that holy candle; or else perishest thou, though thou hast a thousand holy candles about thee, a hundred tun of holy water, a shipful of pardons, a cloth sack full of friars' coats, and all the ceremonies in the world, and all the good works, deservings, and merits of all the men in the world, be they, or were they never so holy; God's word only lasteth for ever, and that which he hath sworn doth abide, when all other things perish. So long as thou findest any consent in thine heart unto the law of God, that it is righteous and good, and also displeasure that thou canst not fulfil it; despair not, neither doubt, but that God's Spirit is in thee, and that thou art chosen for Christ's sake,

to the inheritance of eternal life. And again (Romans, iii.), "we suppose that a man is justified through faith without the deeds of the law." And likewise (Romans, iv.) we say "that faith was reckoned to Abraham for righteousness." Also (Romans, v.), "seeing that we are justified through faith, we are at peace with God." Also (Romans, x.), "with the heart doth a man believe to be made righteous." Also (Galatians, iii.), "Received ye the Spirit by the deeds of the law, or by hearing of the faith?"—"Doth he which ministereth the Spirit unto you and worketh miracles among you, do it of the deeds of the law, or by hearing of faith? Even as Abraham believed, and it was reckoned to him for righteousness. Understand therefore (saith he) that the children of faith are the children of Abraham. For the Scripture saw before, that God would justify the heathen or Gentiles by faith, and shewed before glad tidings unto Abraham, In thy seed shall all nations be blessed.—Wherefore they which are of faith are blessed (that is to wit made righteous), with righteous Abraham. For as many as are of the deeds of the law, are under curse. For it is written, saith he: Cursed is every man that continueth not in all things, which are written in the book of the law to fulfil them. Item (Gal. ii.) where he resisted Peter in the face, he saith, "We which are Jews by nation, and not sinners of the Gentiles, know that a man is not justified by the deeds of the law: but by the faith of Jesus Christ, and have therefore believed on Jesus Christ, that we might be justified by the faith of Christ, and not by the deeds of the law: for by the deeds of the law shall no flesh be justified." Item, in the same place he saith, "Touching that I now live, I live in the faith of the Son of God, which loved me, and gave himself for me, I despise not the grace of God. For if righteousness come by the

law, then is Christ dead in vain." And of such like ensamples are all the Epistles of Paul full. Mark how Paul laboureth with himself to express the exceeding mysteries of faith, in the Epistle to the Ephesians, and in the Epistle to the Colossians. Of these and many such like texts, are we sure that the forgiveness of sins, and justifying, is appropriate unto faith only, without the adding to of works. Take for thee also the similitude that Christ maketh (Matthew, vii.), "A good tree bringeth forth good fruit, and a bad tree bringeth forth bad fruit." There seest thou, that the fruit maketh not the tree good, but the tree the fruit, and that the tree must aforehand be good, or be made good, ere it can bring forth good fruit. As he also saith (Matthew, xii.), "Either make the tree good, and his fruit good also, either make the tree bad and his fruit bad also. How can ye speak well while ye yourselves are evil?" So likewise is this true, and nothing more than true, that a man before all good works must first be good, and that it is impossible that works should make him good, if he were not good before; yet he did good works. For this is Christ's principle (as we say), a general rule. How can ye speak well, while ye are evil? so likewise, how can ye do good, while ye are evil? This is therefore a plain and a sure conclusion, not to be doubted of, that there must be first in the heart of a man, before he do any good work, a greater and a preciouser thing than all the good works in the world to reconcile him to God, to bring the love and favour of God to him, to make him love God again, to make him righteous and good in the sight of God, to do away his sin, to deliver him and loose him out of that captivity wherein he was conceived and born, in which he could neither love God, neither the will of God. Or else how can he work any good work that should please God; if there were not some

supernatural goodness in him, given him of God freely; whereof the good works must spring, even as a sick man must first be healed or made whole, ere he can do the deeds of a whole man; and as the blind man must first have sight given him ere he can see; and he that hath his feet in fetters, gieves, or stocks, must first be loosed, ere he can go, walk, or run, and even as they which thou readest of in the Gospel, that they were possessed of the devils, could not laud God, till the devils were cast out. That precious thing which must be in the heart, ere a man can work any good work, is the word of God, which in the Gospel preacheth, proffereth, and bringeth unto all that repent and believe, the favour of God in Christ: whosoever heareth the word, and believeth it, the same is thereby righteous, and thereby is given him the Spirit of God, which leadeth him unto all that is the will of God, and is loosed from the captivity and bondage of the devil, and his heart is free to love God, and hath lust to do the will of God; therefore it is called the word of life, the word of grace, the word of health, the word of redemption, the word of forgiveness, and the word of peace: he that heareth it not, or believeth it not, can by no means be made righteous before God. This confirmeth Peter in the 15th of the Acts, "seeing that God through faith doth purify the hearts." For of what nature soever the word of God is, of the same nature must the hearts be, which believe thereon and cleave thereunto. Now is the word living, pure, righteous, and true, and even so maketh it the hearts of them that believe thereon. If it be said that Paul (when he saith, Romans, iii. "no flesh shall be, or can be justified by the deeds of the law,") meaneth it of the ceremonies or sacrifices, it is an untrue saying. For it followeth immediately, "by the law cometh the knowledge of sin." Now are

they not the ceremonies that utter sin, but the law of commandments. In the iv. (he saith) "the law causeth wrath," which cannot be understood of the ceremonies, for they were given to reconcile the people to God again after they had sinned. If as they say the ceremonies which were given to purge sin and to reconcile, justify not, neither bless, but temporally only, much more the law of commandments justifieth not. For that which proveth a man sick, healeth him not, neither doth the cause of wrath bring to favour, neither can that which damnethe save a man. When the mother commandeth her child, but even to rock the cradle, it grudgeth, the commandment doth but utter the poison that lay hid, and setteth him at hate with his mother, and maketh him believe she loveth him not. These commandments also ("thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, thou shalt not lust, desire, or wish after thy neighbour's wife, servant, maid, ox, or ass, or whatsoever pertaineth unto thy neighbour,") give me not power so to do, but utter the poison that is in me and damn me, because I cannot so do, and prove that God is wrath with me, seeing that his will and mine are so contrary. Therefore saith Paul (Galatians, iii.), "If there had been given such a law, that could have given life, then no doubt righteousness had come by the law, but the Scripture concluded all under sin (saith he), that the promise might be given unto them that believe through the faith that is in Jesus Christ." The promises, when they are believed, are they that justify, for they bring the Spirit, which looseth the heart, giveth lust to the law, and certifieth us of the good will of God unto usward. If we submit ourselves unto God, and desire him to heal us, he will do it, and will in the mean time (because of the consent of the heart unto the law) count us for full whole, and will no more

hate us, but pity us, cherish us, be tender-hearted to us, and love us as he doth Christ himself: Christ is our Redeemer, Saviour, Peace, Atonement, and Satisfaction, and hath made amends or satisfaction to Godward for all the sin which they that repent (consenting to the law and believing the promises) do, have done or shall do. So that if through frailty we fall a thousand times in a day, yet if we do repent again, we have always mercy laid up for us in store in Jesus Christ our Lord.

What shall we say then to those Scriptures which go so sore upon good works? As we read (Matthew, xxv.) "I was an hungered and ye gave me meat," &c. and such like. Which all sound as though we should be justified, and accepted unto the favour of God in Christ through good works. To this I answer. Many there are which when they hear or read of faith, at once they consent thereunto and have a certain imagination or opinion of faith, as when a man telleth a story, or a thing done in a strange land, that pertaineth not to them at all, which yet they believe, and tell as a true thing. And this imagination or opinion they call faith. They think no further than that faith is a thing which standeth in their own power to have, as do other natural works which men work, but they feel no manner of working of the Spirit, neither the terrible sentence of the law, the fearful judgments of God, the horrible damnation and captivity under Satan. Therefore as soon as they have this opinion or imagination in their hearts that saith, merely this doctrine seemeth true, I believe it is even so: then they think that the right faith is there. But afterward when they feel in themselves, and also see in others, that there is none alteration, and that the works follow not, but that they are altogether even as before, and abide in their old estate, then



think they that faith is not sufficient, but that it must be some greater thing than faith that should justify a man. So fall they away from faith again, and cry, saying, Faith only justifieth not a man, and maketh him acceptable to God. If thou ask them wherefore. They answer, See how many there are that believe, and yet do no more than they did before. These are they which Jude in his Epistle calleth dreamers, "which deceive themselves with their own fantasies." For what other thing is their imagination which they call faith, than a dreaming of the faith, and an opinion of their own imagination, wrought without the grace of God? These must needs be worse at the latter end, than at the beginning. These are the old vessels that rent when new wine is poured into them (Matthew, ix.), that is, they hear God's word, but hold it not, and therefore wax worse than they were before. But the right faith springeth not of man's fantasy, neither is it in any man's power to obtain it, but is altogether the pure gift of God poured into us freely, without all manner of doing of us, without deserving and merits, yea and without seeking for of us. And is (as saith Paul in the second to the Ephesians) even "God's gift and grace purchased through Christ." Therefore is it mighty in operation, full of virtue and even working, which also reneweth a man and begetteth him afresh, altereth him, changeth him, and turneth him altogether into a new nature and conversation, so that a man feeleth his heart altogether altered, changed, and far otherwise disposed than before, and hath power to love that which before he could not but hate, and delighteth in that which before he abhorred, and hateth that which before he could not but love. And it setteth the soul at liberty, and maketh her free to follow the will of God, and doth to the soul even as health doth unto the body,

after that a man is pined and wasted away with a long soaking disease, the legs cannot bear him, he cannot lift up his hands to help himself, his taste is corrupt, sugar is bitter in his mouth, his stomach abhorreth, longing after slibbersauce and swash, at which a whole stomach is ready to cast his gorge; when health cometh she changeth and altereth him clean, giveth him strength in all his members, lust, and to do of his own accord, that which before he could not do, neither could suffer that any man exhorted him to do, and hath now lust in wholesome things, and his members are free and at liberty, and have power to do of their own accord all things, which belong to an whole man to do, which afore they had no power to do, but were in captivity and bondage. So likewise in all things doth right faith to the soul.

The Spirit of God accompanieth faith, and bringeth with her light, wherewith a man beholdeth himself in the law of God, and seeth his miserable bondage and captivity, and humbleth himself, and abhorreth himself; she bringeth God's promises of all good things in Christ. God worketh with his word, and in his word. And as his word is preached, faith rooteth herself in the hearts of the elect, and as faith entereth and the word of God is believed, the power of God looseth the heart from captivity and bondage under sin, and knitteth and coupleth him to God, and to the will of God; altereth him, changeth him clean, fashioneth, forgeth him anew, giveth him power to love, and to do that which before was impossible for him either to love or do, and turneth him into a new nature: so that he loveth that which he before hated, and hateth that which he before loved, and is clean altered, changed, and contrary disposed; and is knit and coupled fast to God's will, and naturally bringeth forth good works, that is to

say, that which God commandeth to do, and not things of his own imagination. And that doth he of his own accord, as a tree bringeth forth fruit of her own accord. And as thou needest not to bid a tree to bring forth fruit, so is there no law put into him that believeth, and is justified through faith (as saith Paul in the first Epistle to Timothy, the first chapter). Neither is it needful, for the law of God is written and graved in his heart, and his pleasure is therein. And as without commandment, but even of his own nature, he eateth, drinketh, seeth, heareth, talketh, and goeth, even so of his own nature, without coercion or compulsion of the law, bringeth he forth good works. And as a whole man when he is athirst, tarrieth but for drink, and when he hungereth, abideth but for meat, and then drinketh and eateth naturally: even so is the faithful ever athirst, and an hungered after the will of God, and tarrieth but for occasion. And whensoever an occasion is given, he worketh naturally the will of God. For this blessing is given to all them that trust in Christ's blood, that they thirst and hunger to do God's will. He that hath not this faith, is but an unprofitable babbler of faith and works, and wotteth neither what he babbleth, nor what he meaneth, or whereunto his words pertain. For he feeleth not the power of faith, nor the working of the Spirit in his heart, but interpreteth the Scriptures which speak of faith and works, after his own blind reason and foolish fantasies, and not of any feeling that he hath in his heart, as a man rehearseth a tale of another man's mouth, and wotteth not whether it be so or no, as he saith, nor hath any experience of the thing itself. Now doth the Scripture ascribe both faith and works not to us but to God only, to whom they belong only, and to whom they are appropriate, whose gift they are, and the proper work of his Spirit.

Is it not a froward and perverse blindness, to teach how a man can do nothing of his own self, and yet presumptuously take upon them the greatest and highest work of God, even to make faith in themselves of their power, and of their own false imagination and thoughts? Therefore I say we must despair of ourselves, and pray God (as Christ's apostles did) to give us faith, and to increase our faith; when we have that, we need no other thing more. For she bringeth the Spirit with her, and he not only teacheth us all things, but worketh them also mightily in us, and carrieth us through adversity, persecution, death, and hell, unto heaven and everlasting life.

Mark diligently therefore, seeing we are come to answer. The Scripture (because of such dreams and feigned faith's sake) useth such manner of speakings of works, not that a man should thereby be made good to Godward, or justified, but to declare unto others, and to take of others the difference between false feigned faith, and right faith. For where right faith is, there bringeth she forth good works; if there follow not good works, it is (no doubt) but a dream and an opinion, or feigned faith.

Wherefore look, as the fruit maketh not the tree good, but declareth and testifieth outwardly that the tree is good, (as Christ saith), "every tree is known by his fruit," even so shall ye know the right faith by her fruit.

Take for an ensample Mary that anointed Christ's feet (Luke, vii.), when Simon, which had Christ to his house, had condemned her, Christ defended her, and justified her, saying, "Simon, I have a certain thing to say unto thee. And he said, Master, say on. There was a certain lender, which had two debtors, the one owed five hundred pence and the other fifty. When they had nothing to pay, he forgave both. Which of them, tell me, will love him

most? Simon answered and said, I suppose that he to whom he forgave most. And he said to him, Thou hast truly judged. And he turned him to the woman, and said unto Simon, Seest thou this woman? I entered into thine house, and thou gavest me no water to my feet, but she hath washed my feet with tears, and wiped them with the hairs of her head. Thou gavest me no kiss, but she, since the time I came in, hath not ceased to kiss my feet. My head with oil thou hast not anointed, and she hath anointed my feet with costly and precious ointment. Wherefore I say unto thee, many sins are forgiven her, for she loved much. To whom less is forgiven, the same doth love less, &c." Hereby see we that deeds and works are but outward signs of the inward grace of the bounteous and plenteous mercy of God, freely received without all merits of deeds, yea and before all deeds. Christ teacheth to know the inward faith and love by the outward deeds. Deeds are the fruits of love, and love is the fruit of faith. Love and also the deeds are great or small, according to the proportion of faith. Where faith is mighty and strong, there is love fervent and deeds plenteous, and done with exceeding meekness. Where faith is weak, there is love cold, and the deeds few, and seldom bear flowers and blossoms in winter.

Simon believed and had faith, yet but weakly, and according to the proportion of his faith loved coldly, and had deeds thereafter: he had Christ unto a simple and a bare feast only, and received him not with any great humanity. But Mary had a strong faith, and therefore burning love, and notable deeds done with exceeding profound and deep meekness. On the one side she saw herself clearly in the law, both in what danger she was in, and her cruel bondage under sin, her horrible damnation, and also the fearful sentence and judgment of God upon sin.

ners. On the other side she heard the Gospel of Christ preached, and in the promises she saw with eagle's eyes the exceeding abundant mercy of God that passeth all utterance of speech, which is set forth in Christ for all meek sinners, which acknowledge their sins. And she believed the word of God mightily, and glorified God even his mercy and truth, and being overcome and overwhelmed with the unspeakable, yea and incomprehensible abundant riches of the kindness of God, did inflame and burn in love, yea was so swollen in love, that she could not abide nor hold, but must break out, and was so drunk in love, that she regarded nothing, but even to utter the fervent and burning love of her heart only. She had no respect to herself, though she was never so great and notable a sinner, neither to the curious hypocrisy of the Pharisees, which ever disdain weak sinners, neither the costliness of her ointment, but with all humbleness did run unto his feet, washed them with the tears of her eyes, and wiped them with the hairs of her head, and anointed them with her precious ointment, yea and would no doubt have run into the ground under his feet to have uttered her love towards him, yea would have descended down into hell, if it had been possible. Even as Paul, in the ninth chapter of his Epistle to the Romans, was drunk in love, and overwhelmed with the plenteousness of the infinite mercy of God (which he had received in Christ unsought for), wished himself banished from Christ and damned, to save the Jews, if it might have been. For as a man feeleth God in himself, so is he to his neighbour.

Mark another thing also, we for the most part, because of our grossness in all our knowledge, proceed from that which is last and hindmost unto that which is first, beginning at the latter end, disputing and making our arguments backward. We begin at

the effect and work, and proceed unto the natural cause. As for an ensample, we first see the moon dark, and then search the cause, and find that the putting of the earth between the sun and the moon is the natural cause of the darkness, and that the earth stoppeth the light. Then dispute we backward, saying, the moon is darkened, therefore is the earth directly between the sun and the moon. Now yet is not the darkness of the moon the natural cause that the earth is between the sun and the moon, but the effect thereof, and cause declarative, declaring and leading us unto the knowledge, how that the earth is between the sun and the moon directly, and causeth the darkness, stopping the light of the sun from the moon. And contrariwise, the being of the earth directly between the sun and the moon is the natural cause of the darkness. Likewise he hath a son, therefore is he a father, and yet the son is not cause of the father, but contrariwise. Notwithstanding the son is the cause declarative, whereby we know that the other is a father. After the same manner here, many sins are forgiven her, for she loveth much; thou mayest not understand by the word *for*, that love is the natural cause of the forgiving of sins, but declareth it only, and contrariwise the forgiveness of sins is the natural cause of love.

The works declare love. And love declareth that there is some benefit and kindness shewed, or else would there be no love. Why worketh one, and another not? or one more than another? Because that one loveth, and the other not, or that the one loveth more than the other. Why loveth one and another not, or one more than another? Because that one feeleth the exceeding love of God in his heart, and another not, or that one feeleth it more than another. Scripture speaketh after the most gross manner; be diligent therefore that thou be not

deceived with curiousness. For men of no small reputation have been deceived with their own sophistry.

Hereby now seest thou, that there is great difference between being righteous and good in a man's self, and declaring and uttering righteousness and goodness. The faith only maketh a man safe, good, righteous, and the friend of God, yea and the son and the heir of God, and of all his goodness, and possesseth us with the Spirit of God. The work declareth the self faith and goodness. Now useth the Scripture the common manner of speaking, and the very same that is among the people. As when a father saith to his child, go and be loving, merciful, and good to such or such a poor man, he biddeth him not, therewith to be made merciful, kind, and good, but to testify and declare the goodness that is in him already, with the outward deed; that it may break out to the profit of others, and that others may feel it, which have need thereof.

After the same manner shalt thou interpret the Scriptures which make mention of works; that God thereby will that we shew forth that goodness, which we have received by faith, and let it break forth and come to the profit of others, that the false faith may be known and weeded out by the roots. For God giveth no man his grace that he should let it lie still, and do no good withal: but that he should increase it, and multiply it with lending it to others, and with open declaring of it with the outward works, provoke and draw others to God, As Christ saith in Matthew the fifth chapter, "let your light so shine in the sight of men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven." Or else were it as a treasure digged in the ground; and hid wisdom, in which what profit is there?



Moreover therewith the goodness, favour, and gifts of God which are in thee, not only shall be known unto others, but also unto thine own self; and thou shalt be sure that thy faith is right, and that the true Spirit of God is in thee, and that thou art called, and chosen of God unto eternal life, and loosed from the bonds of Satan, whose captive thou wast, as Peter exhorteth in the first of his second Epistle, through good works to make our calling and election (wherewith we are called and chosen of God) sure. For how dare a man presume to think, that his faith is right, and that God's favour is on him, and that God's Spirit is in him, when he feelth not the working of the Spirit, neither himself disposed to any godly thing? Thou canst never know or be sure of thy faith, but by the works: if works follow not, yea and that of love, without looking after any reward, thou mayest be sure that thy faith is but a dream, and not right, and even the same that James called, in his Epistle the second chapter, dead faith and not justifying.

Abraham through works (Genesis, xxii.) was sure of his faith to be right, and that the true fear of God was in him, when he had offered his Son (as the Scripture saith). "Now know I that thou fearest God," that is to say, now it is open, and manifest "that thou fearest God, inasmuch as thou hast not spared thy only son for my sake."

So now by this abide sure and fast, that a man inwardly in the heart and before God is righteous and good through faith only, before all works. Notwithstanding yet outwardly and openly before the people, yea and before himself, is he righteous through the work, that is, he knoweth and is sure through the outward work that he is a true believer, and in the favour of God, and righteous and good through the mercy of God: that thou mayest call

the one an open and an outward righteousness, and the other an inward righteousness of the heart, (so yet) that thou understand by the outward righteousness, no other thing save the fruit that followeth, and a declaring of the inward justifying and righteousness of the heart, and not that it maketh a man righteous before God, but that he must be first righteous before him in the heart. Even as thou mayest call the fruit of the tree, the outward goodness of the tree, which followeth and uttereth the inward natural goodness of the tree.

This meaneth James in his Epistle, where he saith, "faith without works is dead," that is, if works follow not, it is a sure and an evident sign that there is no faith in the heart, but a dead imagination and dream, which they falsely call faith.

Of the same wise is this saying of Christ to be understood, "Make you friends of the unrighteous mammon," that is, shew your faith openly, and what ye are within in the heart, with outward giving and bestowing your goods on the poor, that ye may obtain friends, that is, that the poor on whom thou hast shewed mercy may at the day of judgment testify and witness of thy good works. That thy faith and what thou wast within thy heart before God, may there appear by thy fruits openly unto all men. For unto the right believing shall all things be comfortable and unto consolation, at that terrible day. And contrariwise unto the unbelieving, all things shall be unto desperation and confusion, and every man shall be judged openly and outwardly in the presence of all men, according to their deeds and works. So that not without a cause thou mayest call them thy friends, which testify at that day of thee, that thou lived as a true and a right Christian man, and followedst the steps of Christ in shewing mercy, as no doubt he doth which feeleth God merciful in his

heart. And by the works is the faith known, that it was right and perfect. For the outward works can never please God nor make friends, except they spring of faith. Forasmuch as Christ himself (Matthew the vi. and vii.) disalloweth and casteth away the works of the Pharisees, yea, prophesying and working of miracles, and casting out of devils, which we count and esteem for very excellent virtues. Yet make they no friends with their works, while their hearts are false and impure, and their eye double. Now without faith, is no heart true or eye single: so that we are compelled to confess that the works make not a man righteous or good, but that the heart must first be righteous and good, ere any good work proceed thence.

Secondarily, all good works must be done free with a single eye, without respect of any thing, and that no profit be sought thereby.

That commandeth Christ, where he saith (Matthew, x.) "Freely have ye received, freely give again." For look as Christ with all his works did not deserve heaven, for that was his already, but did us service therewith, and neither looked nor sought his own profit, but our profit, and the honour of God the Father only. Even so we with all our works may not seek our own profit, neither in this world, nor in heaven, but must and ought freely to work to honour God withal, and without all manner of respect, seek our neighbour's profit and do him service. That meaneth Paul (Philippians, ii.), saying, Be minded as Christ was, which being in the shape of God, equal unto God, and even very God, laid that apart, that is to say, hid it; and took on him the form and fashion of a servant; that is, as concerning himself he had enough, that he was full, and had all plenteousness of the Godhead, and in all his works sought our profit, and became our servant,

The cause is, forasmuch as faith justifieth and putteth away sin in the sight of God, bringeth life, health, and the favour of God, maketh us the heirs of God, poureth the Spirit of God into our souls, and filleth us with all godly fulness in Christ, it were too great a shame, rebuke, and wrong unto the faith, yea to Christ's blood, if a man would work any thing to purchase that wherewith faith hath endued him already, and God hath given him freely. Even as Christ had done rebuke and shame unto himself, if he would have done good works, and wrought to have been made thereby God's son and heir over all, which thing he was already. Now doth faith make us the sons or children of God (John, i.), "he gave them might or power to be the sons of God, in that they believed on his name."—"If we be sons, so are we also heirs." (Romans, viii. and Galatians, iv.) How can or ought we then to work, for to purchase that inheritance withal, whereof we are heirs already by faith?

What shall we say then to those Scriptures which sound as though a man should do good works, and live well for heaven's sake, or eternal reward? As these are: "Make you friends of the unrighteous mammon;" and (Matthew, vii.) "Gather you treasures together in heaven." Also (Matthew, xix.), "If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments," and such like. This say I, that they which understand not, neither feel in their hearts what faith meaneth, talk and think of the reward even as they do of the work, neither suppose they that a man ought to work; but in a respect to the reward. For they imagine that it is in the kingdom of Christ, as it is in the world among men, that they must deserve heaven with their good works. Howbeit, their thoughts are but dreams and false imaginations. Of these men speaketh Malachi (chapter i.), "Who is it among you that shutteth a door for my pleasure for

nought," that is, without respect of reward? These are servants that seek gains and advantage, hirelings and day-labourers, which here on earth receive their rewards, as the Pharisees with their prayers and fastings (Matthew, v.).

But on this wise goeth it with heaven, with everlasting life and eternal reward, likewise as good works naturally follow faith (as it is above rehearsed), so that thou needest not to command a true believer to work, or to compel him with any law, for it is impossible that he should not work; he tarrieth but for an occasion, he is ever disposed of himself, thou needest but to put him in remembrance, and that to know the false faith from the true. Even so naturally doth eternal life follow faith and good living without seeking for, and is impossible that it should not come, though no man thought thereon. Yet is it rehearsed in the Scripture, alleged and promised to know the difference between a false believer and a true believer, and that every man may know what followeth good living naturally, and of itself, without taking thought for it.

Take a gross ensample. Hell, that is everlasting death, is threatened unto sinners, and yet followeth it sin naturally without seeking for. For no man doth evil to be damned therefore, but had rather avoid it. Yet there, the one followeth the other naturally, and though no man told or warned him of it, yet should the sinner find it and feel it. Nevertheless, it is therefore threatened, that men may know what followeth evil living. Now then as after evil living followeth his reward unsought for, even so after good living followeth his reward naturally unsought for or unthought upon. Even as when thou drinkest wine, be it good or bad, the taste followeth of itself, though thou therefore drink it not. Yet testifieth the Scripture, and it is true, that we are by inherit-

ance heirs of damnation: and that ere we be born, we are vessels of the wrath of God, and full of that poison whence naturally all sins spring: and wherewith we cannot but sin, which thing the deeds that follow (when we behold ourselves in the glass of the law of God) do declare and utter, kill our consciences, and shew us what we were and wist not of it, and certifieth us that we are heirs of damnation. For if we were of God we should cleave to God, and lust after the will of God. But now our deeds compared to the law, declare the contrary, and by our deeds we see ourselves, both what we be and what our end shall be.

So now thou seest that life eternal and all good things are promised unto faith and belief; so that he that believeth on Christ shall be safe. Christ's blood hath purchased life for us, and hath made us the heirs of God, so that heaven cometh by Christ's blood. If thou wouldst obtain heaven with the merits and deservings of thine own works, so didst thou wrong, yea, and shamedst the blood of Christ, and unto thee were Christ dead in vain. Now is the true believer heir of God by Christ's deservings, yea, and in Christ was predestinate and ordained unto eternal life, before the world began. And when the Gospel is preached unto us, we believe the mercy of God, and in believing we receive the Spirit of God, which is the earnest of eternal life, and we are in eternal life already, and feel already in our hearts the sweetness thereof, and are overcome with the kindness of God and Christ, and therefore love the will of God, and of love are ready to work freely, and not to obtain that which is given us freely, and whereof we are heirs already.

Now when Christ saith: "Make you friends of unrighteous mammon"—"Gather you treasure together in heaven," and such like: thou seest that

the meaning and intent is no other, but that thou shouldst do good, and so will it follow of itself naturally, without seeking and taking of thought, that thou shalt find friends and treasure in heaven, and receive a reward. So let thine eye be single, and look unto good living only, and take no thought for the reward: but be content. Forasmuch as thou knowest and art sure that the reward and all things contained in God's promises, follow good living naturally; and thy good works do but testify only and certify thee, that the Spirit of God is in thee, whom thou hast received in earnest of God's truth, and that thou art heir of all the goodness of God, and that all good things are thine already, purchased by Christ's blood: and laid up in store against that day when every man shall receive according to his deeds, that is, according as his deeds declare and testify, what he is or was. For they that look unto the reward, are slow, false, subtle, and crafty workers, and love the reward more than the work; yea, hate the labour, yea, hate God which commandeth the labour; and are weary both of the commandment, and also of the commander, and work with tediousness. But he that worketh of pure love without seeking of reward, worketh truly.

Thirdly, that not the saints, but God only receiveth us into eternal tabernacles, is so plain, and evident, that it needeth not to declare or prove it. How shall the saints receive us into heaven, when every man hath need for himself that God only receive him into heaven, and every man hath scarce for himself? As it appeareth by the five wise virgins (Matthew, xxv.), which would not give of their oil unto the unwise virgins. And Peter saith in the iv. of his First Epistle: "that the righteous is with difficulty saved." So seest thou that the saying of Christ, make you friends, and so forth, that they may re-

ceive you into everlasting tabernacles, pertaineth not unto the saints which are in heaven, but is spoken of the poor and needy which are here present with us on earth, as though he would say: What buildest thou churches, foundest abbeys, chantries, and colleges, in honour of saints, to My Mother, St. Peter, Paul, and saints that be dead, to make of them thy friends? They need it not, yea, they are not thy friends, but theirs which lived then when they did, of whom they were holpen. Thy friends are the poor which are now in thy time, and live with thee, thy poor neighbours which need thy help and succour. Them make thy friends with thy unrighteous mammon, that they may testify of thy faith, and thou mayest know and feel that thy faith is right and not feigned.

Unto the second, such receiving into everlasting habitations, is not to be understood, that men shall do it. For many to whom we shew mercy and do good, shall not come there, neither skilleth it, so we meekly and lovingly do our duty, yea, it is a sign of strong faith and fervent love, if we do well to the evil, and study to draw them to Christ in all that lieth in us. But the poor give us an occasion to exercise our faith, and the deeds make us feel our faith, and certify us and make us sure that we are safe, and are escaped and translated from death unto life, and that we are delivered and redeemed from the captivity and bondage of Satan, and brought into the liberty of the sons of God, in that we feel lust and strength in our heart, to work the will of God. And at that day shall our deeds appear and comfort our hearts, witness our faith and trust which we now have in Christ, which faith shall then keep us from shame, as it is written: "None that believeth in him shall be ashamed." (Romans, ix.) So that good works help our faith, and make us sure in our consciences, and make us feel the mercy of God. Not-



withstanding, heaven, everlasting life, joy eternal, faith, the favour of God, the Spirit of God, lust and strength unto the will of God, are given us freely of the bounteous and plenteous riches of God purchased by Christ, without our deservings; that no man should rejoice but in the Lord only.

For a further understanding of this Gospel, here may be made three questions. What mammon is, why it is called unrighteous, and after what manner Christ biddeth us counterfeit and follow the unjust and wicked steward; which with his lord's damage provided for his own profit and advantage, which thing no doubt is unrighteous and sin.

First, mammon is a Hebrew word, and signifieth riches or temporal goods, and namely, all superfluity and all that is above necessity, and that which is required unto our necessary uses, wherewith a man may help another, without undoing or hurting himself. For *Hamon* in the Hebrew speech signifieth a multitude, or abundance, or many. And there hence cometh *mahammon*, or *mammon*, abundance or plenteousness of goods or riches. Secondly, it is called unrighteous mammon, not because it is got unrighteously, or with usury, for of unrighteous gotten goods can no man do good works, but ought to restore them home again; as it is said (Isaiah, lxi.), "I am a God that hateth offering that cometh of robbery." And (Proverbs, iii. saith) "Honour the Lord of thine own goods." But therefore is it called unrighteous, because it is in unrighteous use, as Paul speaketh unto the Ephesians, v. how that the days are evil though that God hath made them, and they are a good work of God's making. Howbeit, they are yet called evil, because that evil men use them amiss, and much sin, occasions of evil, and peril of souls are wrought in them. Even so are riches called evil, because that evil men bestow them

miss, and misuse them. For where riches are, there goeth it after the common proverb: he that hath money, hath what him listeth. And they cause fighting, stealing, laying await, lying, flattering, and all unhappiness against a man's neighbour. For all men hold on riches part. But singularly, before God is it called unrighteous mammon, because it is not bestowed and ministered unto our neighbour's need. For if my neighbour need and I give him not, neither depart liberally with him, of that which I have; then withhold I from him unrighteously that which is his own. Forasmuch as I am bounden to help him by the law of nature, which is: whatsoever thou wouldst that another did to thee, that do thou also to him. And Christ (Matthew, v.), "Give to every man that desireth thee." And (John, in his First Epistle), "If a man have this world's goods, and see his brother need, how is the love of God in him?" And this unrighteousness in our mammon see very few men; because it is spiritual, and in those goods which are gotten most truly and justly, which beguile men. For they suppose they do no man wrong in keeping them, in that they got them not with stealing, robbing, oppression, and usury, neither hurt any man now with them.

Thirdly, many have busied themselves in studying what or who this unrighteous steward is, because that Christ so praiseth him. But shortly and plainly this is the answer. That Christ praiseth not the unrighteous steward, neither setteth him forth to us to counterfeit, because of his unrighteousness, but because of his wisdom only, in that he with unright so wisely provided for himself. As if I would provoke another to pray, or study, do say: the thieves watch all night to rob and steal; why canst not thou watch to pray and to study? Here praise not I the thief and murderer for their evil doing, but for their

wisdom, that they so wisely and diligently wait on their unrighteousness. Likewise when I say that miss-women tire themselves with gold and silver to please their lovers; what, wilt not thou garnish thy soul with faith to please Christ? here praise I not whoredom, but that diligence, which the whore mis-useth.

On this wise Paul also (Romans, v.) likeneth Adam and Christ together, saying that Adam was a figure of Christ. And yet of Adam have we but pure sin, and of Christ grace only, which are out of measure contrary. But the similitude or likeness standeth in the original birth, and not in the virtue and vice of the birth. So that as Adam is father of all sin, so is Christ father of all righteousness. And as all sinners spring of Adam; even so all righteous men and women spring of Christ. After the same manner is here the unrighteous steward an ensample unto us, in his wisdom and diligence only, in that he provided so wisely for himself; that we with righteousness should be as diligent to provide for our souls, as he with unrighteousness provided for his body.

Likewise mayest thou solve all other texts which sound as though it were between us and God, as it is in the world where the reward is more looked upon than the labour; yea where men hate the labour, and work falsely with the body, and not with the heart, and no longer than they are looked upon, that the Labour may appear outward only.

When Christ saith (Matthew, v.), "Blessed are ye when they rail on you, and persecute you, and say all manner of evil sayings against you, and yet lie, and that for my sake, rejoyce and be glad, for your reward is great in heaven:" thou mayest not imagine that our deeds deserve the joy and glory that shall be given unto us. For then Paul saith (Romans, xi.), "favour were not favour," I cannot receive it of

favour, and of the bounteousness of God freely, and by deserving of deeds also. But believe as the Gospel, glad tidings and promises of God say unto thee, that for Christ's blood sake only through faith, God is at one with thee, and thou received to mercy, and art become the son of God, and heir annexed with Christ of all the goodness of God, the earnest whereof is the Spirit of God poured into our hearts. Of which things the deeds are witnesses, and certify our consciences that our faith is unfeigned, and that the right Spirit of God is in us. For if I patiently suffer adversity and tribulation for conscience of God only, that is to say, because I know God and testify the truth, then am I sure that God hath chosen me in Christ and for Christ's sake, and hath put in me his Spirit, as an earnest of his promises, whose working I feel in mine heart, the deeds bearing witness unto the same. Now is it Christ's blood only that deserved all the promises of God, and that which I suffer and do, is partly the curing, healing, and mortifying of my members, and killing of that original poison, wherewith I was conceived and born, that I might be altogether like Christ, and partly the doing of my duty to my neighbour, whose debtor I am of all that I have received of God, to draw him to Christ with all suffering, with all patience, and even with shedding my blood for him, not as an offering or merit for his sins, but as an ensample to provoke him. Christ's blood only putteth away all the sin that ever was, is, or shall be, from them that are elect and repent, believing the Gospel, that is to say, God's promises in Christ.

Again, in the same 5th chapter: "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do well to them that hate you and persecute you, that ye may be the sons of your Father which is in heaven. For he maketh his sun shine upon evil and on good, and

sendeth his rain upon just and unjust." Not that our works make us the sons of God, but testify only, and certify our consciences, that we are the sons of God, and that God hath chosen us, and washed us in Christ's blood, and hath put his Spirit in us. And it followeth: "If ye love them that love you, what reward have ye? do not the publicans even the same? and if ye shall have favour to your friends only, what singular thing do ye? do not the publicans even the same? ye shall be perfect therefore, as your Father which is in heaven is perfect." That is to say, if that ye do nothing but that the world doth, and they which have the spirit of the world, whereby shall ye know that ye are the sons of God, and beloved of God more than the world? But and if ye counterfeit, and follow God in well doing, then no doubt it is a sign that the Spirit of God is in you, and also the favour of God, which is not in the world, and that ye are inheritors of all the promises of God, and elect unto the fellowship of the blood of Christ.

Also (Matthew, vi.): "Take heed to your alms, that ye do it not in the sight of men, to the intent that ye would be seen of them, or else have ye no reward with your Father which is in heaven. Neither cause a trumpet to be blown afore thee when thou dost thine alms, as the hypocrites do in the synagogues, and in the streets, to be glorified of the world; but when thou dost thine alms, let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doth, that thy alms may be in secret, and thy Father which seeth in secret shall reward thee openly." This putteth us in remembrance of our duty, and sheweth what followeth good works; not that works deserve it, but that the reward is laid up for us in store, and we thereunto elect through Christ's blood, which the works testify. For if we be worldly minded,

and do our works, as the world doth, how shall we know that God hath chosen us out of the world? But and if we work freely, without all manner of worldly respect, to shew mercy, and to do our duty to our neighbour, and to be unto him as God is to us; then are we sure that the favour and mercy of God is upon us, and that we shall enjoy all the good promises of God through Christ, which hath made us heirs thereof.

Also in the same chapter it followeth: "When thou prayest, be not as the hypocrites, which love to stand and pray in the synagogues, and in the corners of the streets, for to be seen of men. But when thou prayest, enter into thy chamber, and shut thy door to, and pray to thy Father which is in secret, and thy Father which seeth in secret shall reward thee openly." And likewise when we fast (teacheth Christ in the same place) that we should behave ourselves that "it appear not unto men how that we fast, but unto our Father which is in secret, and our Father which seeth in secret shall reward us openly." These two texts do but declare what followeth good works, for eternal life cometh not by the deserving of works, but is (saith Paul in the vi. to the Romans) "the gift of God through Jesus Christ." Neither do our works justify us. For except we were justified by faith which is our righteousness, and had the Spirit of God in us to teach us, we could do no good work freely, without respect of some profit, either in this world, or in the world to come; neither could we have spiritual joy in our hearts in time of affliction and mortifying of the flesh.

Good works are called the fruits of the Spirit (Galatians, v.), for the Spirit worketh them in us; and sometimes fruits of righteousness, as in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians and ix. chapter. before all

works therefore, we must have a righteousness within the heart, the mother of all works, and from whence they spring. The righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees and of them that have the Spirit of this world, is that glorious show and outward shining of works. But Christ saith to us (Matthew, v.): "Except your righteousness exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, ye cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven." It is righteousness in the world, if a man kill not. But a Christian perceiveth righteousness if he love his enemy, even when he suffereth persecution and torment of him, and the pains of death, and mourneth more for his adversary's blindness, than for his own pain, and prayeth God to open his eyes and to forgive him his sins, as did Stephen in the Acts of the Apostles, the vii. chapter, and Christ in Luke, xxiii.

A Christian considereth himself in the law of God, and there putteth off him all manner of righteousness, for the law suffereth no merits, no deservings, no righteousness, neither any man to be justified in the sight of God. The law is spiritual, and requireth the heart; and commandments to be fulfilled, with such love and obedience as was in Christ. If any man fulfil all that is the will of God, with such love and obedience, the same may be bold to sell pardons of his merits, and else not.

A Christian therefore (when he beholdeth himself in the law) putteth off all manner of righteousness, deservings, and merits, and meekly and unfeignedly acknowledgeth his sin and misery, his captivity and bondage in the flesh, his trespass and guilt, and is thereby blessed with the poor in spirit. (Matthew, v.) Then he mourneth in his heart, because he is in such bondage that he cannot do the will of God, and is an hungered and athirst after righteousness: for righteousness (I mean) which springeth out of

Christ's blood, for strength to do the will of God. And turneth himself to the promises of God, and desireth him for his great mercy and truth, and for the blood of his Son Christ, to fulfil his promises, and to give him strength. And thus his spirit ever prayeth within him. He fasteth also not one day for a week, or a Lent for a whole year, but profeseth in his heart a perpetual soberness, to tame the flesh, and to subdue the body to the Spirit, until he wax strong in the Spirit, and grow ripe into a full righteousness, after the fulness of Christ. And because this fulness happeneth not till the body be slain by death, a Christian is even a sinner in the law, and therefore fasteth and prayeth to God in the spirit, the world seeing it not. Yet in the promises he is ever righteous, through faith in Christ, and is sure that he is heir of all God's promises, the Spirit which he hath received in earnest bearing him witness, his heart also, and his deeds testifying the same.

Mark this then: to see inwardly that the law of God is so spiritual, that no flesh can fulfil it, and then for to mourn and sorrow, and to desire, yea, to hunger and thirst after strength to do the will of God, from the ground of the heart; and (notwithstanding all the subtlety of the devil, weakness and feebleness of the flesh, and wondering of the world) to cleave yet to the promises of God, and to believe that for Christ's blood sake thou art received to the inheritance of eternal life; is a wonderful thing, and a thing that the world knoweth not of; but whosoever feeleth *that* (though he fall a thousand times in a day), doth yet rise again a thousand times, and is sure that the mercy of God is upon him.

"If ye forgive other men their trespasses, your heavenly Father shall forgive you yours." (Matthew, vi.) If I forgive, God shall forgive me, not for my deeds' sake, but for his promises' sake, for



his mercy and truth, and for the blood of his Son Christ our Lord. And my forgiving certifieth my spirit that God shall forgive me, yea, that he hath forgiven me already. For if I consent to the will of God in my heart, though through infirmity and weakness I cannot do the will of God at all times, moreover, though I cannot do the will of God so purely, as the law requireth it of me; yet if I see my fault and meekly acknowledge my sin, weeping in mine heart, because I cannot do the will of God, and thirst after strength; I am sure that the Spirit of God is in me, and his favour upon me. For the world lusteth not to do the will of God, neither sorroweth because he cannot, though he sorrow sometime for fear of the pain that he believeth shall follow. He that hath the spirit of this world, cannot forgive without amends making, or a greater advantage. If I forgive now, how cometh it? verily, because I feel the mercy of God in me. For as a man feeleth God to himself; so is he to his neighbour. I know by mine own experience that all flesh is in bondage under sin, and cannot but sin, therefore am I merciful, and desire God to loose the bonds of sin even in mine enemy.

“Gather not treasure together in earth, &c. (Matthew, vi.), but gather you treasure in heaven,” &c. Let not your hearts be glued to worldly things; study not to heap treasure upon treasure, and riches upon riches, but study to bestow well that which is gotten already, and let your abundance succour the lack and need of the poor which have not. Have an eye to good works, to which if ye have lust, and also power to do them, then are ye sure that the Spirit of God is in you, and ye in Christ elect to the reward of eternal life, which followeth good works. But look that thine eye be single, and rob not Christ of his honour; ascribe not that to the deserving of thy

works, which is given thee freely by the merits of his blood. In Christ we are sons. In Christ we are heirs. In Christ God chose us and elected us before the beginning of the world, created us anew by the word of the Gospel, and put his Spirit in us, for because we should do good works. A Christian man worketh because it is the will of his Father only. If we do no good work, nor be merciful, how is our lust therein? If we have no lust to do good works, how is God's Spirit in us? If the Spirit of God be not in us, how are we his sons? how are we his heirs, and heirs annexed with Christ of the eternal life, which is promised to all them that believe in him? Now do our works testify and witness what we are, and what treasure is laid up for us in heaven, so that our eye be single, and look upon the commandment without respect of any thing, save because it is God's will, and that God desireth it of us, and Christ hath deserved that we do it.

(Matthew, vii.) "Not all they that say unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that doth the will of my Father which is in heaven." Though thou canst laud God with thy lips, and call Christ Lord, and canst babble and talk of the Scriptures, and knowest all the stories of the Bible; yet shalt thou thereby never know thine election, or whether thy faith be right. But and if thou feel lust in thine heart to the will of God, and bringest forth the fruits thereof, then hast thou confidence and hope, and thy deeds and also the spirit whence thy deeds spring, certify thine heart that thou shalt enter, yea, and art already entered into the kingdom of heaven. For it followeth: "He that heareth the word and doth it, buildeth his house upon a rock," and no tempest of temptation can overthrow it: For the spirit of God is in his heart, and comforteth him, and holdeth him fast to the rock of the merits of

Christ's blood, in whom he is elect. Nothing is able to pluck him out of the hands of God, God is stronger than all things. And contrariwise, he that heareth the word and doth it not, buildeth on the sand of his own imagination, and every tempest overthroweth his building. The cause is, he hath not God's spirit in him, and therefore understandeth it not aright, neither worketh aright. "For no man knoweth the things of God (saith Paul, 1 Cor. ii.) save the Spirit of God : as no man knoweth what is in a man, but a man's spirit which is in him." So then if the Spirit be not in a man, he worketh not the will of God, neither understandeth it, though he babble never so much of the Scriptures. Nevertheless such a man may work after his own imagination, but God's will can he not work, he may offer sacrifice, but to do mercy knoweth he not. It is easy to say unto Christ, Lord, Lord : but thereby shalt thou never feel or be sure of the kingdom of heaven. But and if thou do the will of God, then art thou sure that Christ is thy Lord indeed, and that thou in him art also a lord, in that thou feelest thyself loosed and free from the bondage of sin, and lusty and of power to do the will of God.

Where the Spirit is, there is feeling. For the Spirit maketh us feel all things. Where the Spirit is not, there is no feeling, but a vain opinion or imagination. A physician serveth but for sick men, and that for such sick men as feel their sicknesses, and mourn therefore, and long for health. Christ likewise serveth but for sinners only as feel their sin ; and that for such sinners that sorrow and mourn in their hearts for health. Health is power or strength to fulfil the law, or to keep the commandments. Now he that longeth for that health, that is to say, for to do the law of God, is blessed in Christ, and hath a promise that his lust

shall be fulfilled, and that he shall be made whole. (Matthew, v.) "Blessed are they which hunger and thirst for righteousness sake" (that is to fulfil the law); "for their lust shall be fulfilled." This longing and consent of the heart unto the law of God, is the working of the Spirit, which God hath poured into thine heart, in earnest that thou mightest be sure that God will fulfil all his promises that he hath made thee. It is also the seal and mark which God putteth on all men that he chooseth unto everlasting life. So long as thou seest thy sin, and mournest, and consentest to the law, and longest (though thou be never so weak), yet the Spirit shall keep thee in all temptations, from desperation, and certify thine heart, that God for his truth, shall deliver thee and save thee; yea, and by thy good deeds shalt thou be saved, not which thou hast done, but which Christ hath done for thee. For Christ is thine, and all his deeds are thy deeds. Christ is in thee, and thou in him, knit together inseparably. Neither canst thou be damned except Christ be damned with thee; neither can Christ be saved except thou be saved with him. Moreover thy heart is good, right, holy and just. For thy heart is no enemy to the law, but a friend and a lover. The law and thy heart are agreed and at one, and therefore is God at one with thee. The consent of the heart unto the law, is unity and peace between God and man. For he is not mine enemy, which would fain do me pleasure, and mourneth because he hath not wherewith. Now he that opened thy disease unto thee, and made thee long for health, shall as he hath promised, heal thee; and he that hath loosed thy heart, shall at his godly leisure, loose thy members. He that hath not the Spirit hath no feeling, neither lusteth nor longeth after power to fulfil the law, neither abhorreth the pleasures of sin, neither hath any more certainty of the promises of God, than I have of a tale of Robin

Hood, or of some jest that a man telleth me was done at Rome. Another man may lightly make me doubt or believe the contrary, seeing I have no experience thereof myself. So is it of them that feel not the working of the Spirit, and therefore in time of temptation the buildings of their imaginations fall.

(Mat. x.) "He that receiveth a prophet in the name of a prophet," that is, because he is a prophet, "shall receive the reward of a prophet, and he that giveth one of these little ones a cup of cold water to drink, in the name of a disciple, shall not lose his reward." Note this, that a prophet signifieth as well him that interpreteth the hard places of Scripture, as him that prophesieth things to come. Now he that receiveth a prophet, a just man, or a disciple, shall have the same, or like reward, that is to say, shall have the same eternal life, which is appointed for them in Christ's blood and merits. For except thou were elect to the same eternal life, and hadst the same faith, and trust in God, and the same Spirit, thou couldst never consent to their deeds and help them. But thy deeds testify what thou art, and certify thy conscience that thou art received to mercy, and sanctified in Christ's passions and sufferings, and shalt hereafter with all them that follow God, receive the reward of eternal life.

"Of thy words thou shalt be justified, and of thy words thou shalt be condemned." (Mat. xiii.) That is, thy words as well as other deeds shall testify with thee, or against thee at the day of judgment. Many there are which abstain from the outward deeds of fornication and adultery, nevertheless rejoice to talk thereof and laugh, their words and laughter testify against them that their heart is impure, and they are adulterers and fornicators in the sight of God. The tongue and other signs oft-times utter the malice of the heart, though a man for many

causes abstain his hand from the outward deed or act.

“ If thou wilt enter into life keep the commandments.” (Mat. xix.) First remember that when God commandeth us to do one thing, he doth it not therefore, because that we of ourselves are able to do that he commandeth, but that by the law we might see, and know our horrible damnation and captivity under sin, and therefore should repent and come to Christ, and receive mercy and the Spirit of God to loose us, strengthen us, and to make us able to do God’s will which is the law. Now when he saith: “ If thou wilt enter into life keep the commandments,” is as much as to say, as he that keepeth the commandments is entered into life: for except a man have first the Spirit of life in him by Christ’s purchasing, it is impossible for him to keep the commandments, or that his heart should be loose or at liberty to lust after them; for of nature we are enemies to the law of God.

As touching that Christ saith afterwards: “ If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell thy substance, and give it to the poor:” he saith it not, as who should say that there were any greater perfection than to keep the law of God (for that is all perfection), but to shew the other his blindness, which saw not that the law is spiritual, and requireth the heart. But because he was not knowing that he had hurt any man with the outward deed, he supposed that he loved his neighbour as himself. But when he was bid to shew the deeds of love, and give of his abundance to them that needed, he departed mourning; which is an evident token that he loved not his neighbour as well as himself. For if he had need himself, it would not have grieved him to have received succour of another man. Moreover, he saw not that it was murder and theft, that a man should have abundance of riches lying by him, and not to shew mercy therewith, and

kindly to succour his neighbour's need. God hath given one man riches to help another at need. If thy neighbour need, and thou help him not, being able, thou withholdest his duty from him, and art a thief before God.

That also that Christ saith: how that "it is harder for a rich man" (who loveth his riches so that he cannot find in his heart, liberally and freely to help the poor and needy) "to enter into the kingdom of heaven, than a camel to go through the eye of a needle;" declareth that he was not entered into the kingdom of heaven, that is to say eternal life. But he that keepeth the commandments is entered into life, he hath life, and the Spirit of life in him.

"This kind of devils goeth not out, but by prayer and fasting." (Mat. xvii.) Not that the devil is cast out by merits of fasting and praying; for he saith before, that "for their unbelief's sake, they could not cast him out." It is faith no doubt that casteth out the devils, and faith it is that fasteth and prayeth. Faith hath the promises of God, whereunto she cleaveth, and in all things thirsteth the honour of God. She fasteth to subdue the body unto the Spirit, that the prayer be not let, and that the Spirit may quietly talk with God. She also, whensoever opportunity is given, prayeth God to fulfil his promises unto his praise and glory. And God which is merciful in promising, and true to fulfil them, casteth out the devils, and doth all that faith desireth, and satisfieth her thirst.

"Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the beginning of the world; for I was athirst and ye gave me drink," &c. (Mat. xxv.) Not that a man with works deserveth eternal life, as a workman or labourer, his hire or wages. Thou readest in the text that the kingdom was prepared for us, from the beginning of the

world. And we are blessed and sanctified, In Christ's blood are we blessed from that bitter curse and damnable captivity under sin, wherein we were born and conceived. And Christ's Spirit is poured into us, to bring forth good works, and our works are the fruits of the Spirit, and the kingdom is the deserving of Christ's blood; and so is faith, and the Spirit and good works also. Notwithstanding, the kingdom followeth good works, and good works testify that we are heirs thereof, and at the day of judgment shall they testify for the elect, unto their comfort and glory, and to the confusion of the ungodly, unbelieving, and faithless sinners, which had not trust in the word of God's promises, nor lust to the will of God; but were carried of the Spirit of their father the devil unto all abomination, to work wickedness with all lust, delectation, and greediness.

"Many sins are forgiven her, for she loved much." (Luke, vii.) Not that love was the cause of forgiveness of sins. But contrariwise, the forgiveness of sins caused love, as it followeth: "to whom less was forgiven, the same loveth less." And afore he commended the judgment of Simon, which answered that "he loveth most to whom most was forgiven," and also said at the last: "thy faith hath saved thee, or made thee safe, go in peace." We cannot love, except we see some benefit and kindness. As long as we look on the law of God only, where we see but sin and damnation, and the wrath of God upon us, yea, where we were damned afore we were born, we cannot love God: no; we cannot but hate him as a tyrant, unrighteous, unjust, and flee from him as did Cain. But when the Gospel, that glad tidings and joyful promises are preached, how that in Christ God loveth us first, forgiveth us, and hath mercy on us, then love we again, and the deeds of our love declare our faith. This is the manner of speaking as we say; summer is high, for the trees blossom.



Now is the blossoming of the trees not the cause that summer draweth nigh, but the drawing nigh of summer is the cause of the blossoms, and the blossoms put us in remembrance that summer is at hand. So Christ here teacheth Simon by the ferventness of love in the outward deeds, to see a strong faith within, whence so great love springeth. As the manner is to say, do your charity, shew your charity, do a deed of charity, shew your mercy, do a deed of mercy; meaning thereby, that our deeds declare how we love our neighbours, and how much we have compassion on them at their need. Moreover, it is not possible to love except we see a cause. Except we see in our hearts, the love and kindness of God to usward in Christ our Lord, it is not possible to love God aright.

We say also, he that loveth not my dog, loveth not me: not that a man should love my dog first. But if a man loved me, the love wherewith he loved me, would compel him to love my dog, though the dog deserved it not; yea, though the dog had done him a displeasure; yet if he loved me, the same love would refrain him from revenging himself, and cause him to refer the vengeance unto me. Such speakings find we in Scripture: John in the fourth of his First Epistle saith: "He that saith I love God, and yet hateth his brother, is a liar. For how can he that loveth not his brother whom he seeth, love God whom he seeth not?" This is not spoken that a man should first love his brother, and then God, but as it followeth: "For this commandment have we of him, that he which loveth God should love his brother also." To love my neighbour is the commandment, which commandment, he that loveth not, loveth not God. The keeping of the commandment declareth what love I have to God. If I loved God purely, nothing that my neighbour could

do, were able to make me either to hate him, either to take vengeance on him myself, seeing that God hath commanded me to love him, and to remit all vengeance unto him. Mark now, how much I love the commandment, so much I love God; how much I love God, so much believe I that he is merciful, kind, and good, yea, and a father unto me for Christ's sake; how much I believe that God is merciful unto me, and that he will for Christ's sake fulfil all his promises unto me: so much I see my sins, so much do my sins grieve me, so much do I repent and sorrow that I sin, so much displeaseth me that poison that moveth me to sin, and so greatly desire I to be healed. So now by the natural order, first I see my sin, then I repent and sorrow, then believe I God's promises, that he is merciful unto me, and forgiveth me, and will heal me at the last; then love I, and then I prepare myself to the commandment.

"This do and thou shalt live" (Luke, x.); that is to say, "love thy Lord God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and with all thy mind, and thy neighbour as thyself." As who should say, if thou do this, or though thou canst not do it, yet if thou feelest lust thereunto, and thy spirit sigheth, mourneth, and longeth after strength to do it; take a sign and evident token thereby, that the Spirit of life is in thee, and that thou art elect to life everlasting by Christ's blood; whose gift and purchase is thy faith, and that Spirit that worketh the will of God in thee, whose gift also are thy deeds, or rather the deeds of the Spirit of Christ, and not thine, and whose gift is the reward of eternal life, which followeth good works.

It followeth also in the same place of Luke, when he should depart, he plucked out two pence, and gave them to the host, and said unto him: "Take the charge or cure of him, and whatsoever thou

pendest more, I will recompense it thee at my coming again." Remember this is a parable, and a parable may not be expounded word by word, but the intent of the similitude must be sought out only in the whole parable. The intent of the similitude is to shew, to whom a man is a neighbour, or who is a man's neighbour (which is both one), and what is to love a man's neighbour as himself. The Samaritan help him, and shewed mercy as long as he was present, and when he could be no longer present, he left his money behind him; and if that were not sufficient, he left his credence to make good the rest, and forsook him not, as long as the other had need. Then said Christ: "Go thou and do likewise," that is, without difference or respect of persons; whosoever needeth thy help, him count thy neighbour, and his neighbour be thou, and shew mercy on him, as long as he needeth thy succour; and that is to love a man's neighbour as himself. Neighbour is a word of love, and signifieth that a man should be ever nigh and at hand, and ready to help in time of need.

They that will interpret parables word by word, fall into straits oft-times, whence they cannot rid themselves, and preach lies instead of the truth; as do they which interpret by the *two*, the Old Testament, and the New, and by that which is bestowed, *opera supererogationis* (howbeit *superarrogantia* were a meeter term), that is to say, deeds which are more than the law requireth, deeds of perfection and of liberality, which a man is not bound to do, but of his free-will. And for them he shall have an higher place in heaven, and may give to others of his merits, or of which the Pope after his death may give pardons from the pains of purgatory.

Against which exposition I answer: first, a greater perfection than the law, is there not. A greater perfection than to love God and his will, which is the

commandments, with all thine heart, with all thy soul, with all thy strength, with all thy mind, is there none. And to love a man's neighbour as himself, is like the same. It is a wonderful love where-with a man loveth himself. As glad as I would be to receive pardon of mine own life (if I had deserved death), so glad ought I to be, to defend my neighbour's life, without respect of my life, or of my good. A man ought neither to spare his goods, nor yet himself for his brother's sake, after the ensample of Christ: (1 John, iii.) "Herein (saith he) perceive we love, in that he (that is to say, Christ) gave his life for us, we ought therefore to bestow our lives for the brethren." Now saith Christ: (John, xv.) "There is no greater love, than that a man bestow his life for his friend."

Moreover no man can fulfil the law. For (1 John, i.) "If we say, we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and truth is not in us. If we acknowledge our sins, he is faithful and righteous, to forgive us our sins, and to purge us from all iniquity." And in the Pater-noster (Lord's prayer) also we say, Father, "forgive us our sins." Now if we be all sinners, none fulfil-leth the law. For he that fulfilleth the law, is no sinner. In the law may neither Peter, nor Paul, nor any other creature, save Christ only rejoice. In the blood of Christ, which fulfilled the law for us, may every person that repenteth, believeth, loveth the law, and mourneth for strength to fulfil it, rejoice, be he never so weak a sinner. The two pence there-fore and the credence that he left behind him, to bestow more (if need were), signifieth that he was every where merciful, both present and absent, without feigning, cloaking, complaining or excusing, and forsook not his neighbour as long as he had need, which example I pray God men may follow, and let *opera supererogationis* alone. "Mary hath chosen a

good part, which shall not be taken from her." (Luke; x.) She was first chosen of God, and called by grace, both to know her sin, and also to hear the word of faith, health, and glad tidings of mercy in Christ, and faith was given her to believe, and the Spirit of God loosed her heart from the bondage of sin. Then consented she to the will of God again, and above all things had delectation to hear the word, wherein she had obtained everlasting health, and namely, of his own mouth which had purchased so great mercy for her. God chooseth us first, and loveth us first, and openeth our eyes to see his exceeding abundant love to us in Christ; and then love we again, and accept his will above all things, and serve him in that office whereunto he hath chosen us.

"Sell that ye have and give alms, and make you bags which wax not old, and treasure which faileth not in heaven." (Luke, xii.) This and such like are not spoken that we should work as hirelings in respect of reward, and as though we should obtain heaven with merit, for he saith a little afore: "Fear not, little flock, for it is your Father's pleasure to give you a kingdom." The kingdom cometh then of the good will of Almighty God through Christ. And such things are spoken partly to put us in remembrance of our duty to be kind again. As is that saying: "Let your light so shine before men, that they seeing your good works, may glorify your Father which is in heaven." As who should say, if God hath given you so great gifts, see ye be not unthankful, but bestow them unto his praise. Some things are spoken to move us to put our trust in God, as are these: "Behold the lilies of the field;" "Behold the birds of the air;" "If your children ask you bread, will ye proffer them a stone?" and many such like. Some are spoken to put us in remembrance to be sober, to watch and pray, and to

prepare ourselves against temptations, and that we should understand and know, how that temptations, and occasion of evil come then most, when they are least looked for, lest we should be careless, and sure of ourselves, negligent and unprepared. Some things are spoken, that we should fear the wonderful and incomprehensible judgments of God, lest we should presume. Some to comfort us, that we despair not. And for like causes are all the examples of the Old Testament. In conclusion, the Scripture speaketh many things as the world speaketh; but they may not be worldly understood, but ghostly and spiritually, yea the Spirit of God only understandeth them, and where he is not, there is not the understanding of the Scripture; but unfruitful disputing, and brawling about words.

The Scripture saith, God seeth, God heareth, God smelleth, God walketh, God is with them, God is not with them, God is angry, God is pleased, God sendeth his Spirit, God taketh his Spirit away, and a thousand such like; and yet is none of them after the worldly manner, and as the words sound. Read the second chapter of Paul to the Corinthians: "The natural man understandeth not the things of God, but the Spirit of God only, and we (saith he) have received the Spirit which is of God, to understand the things which are given us of God." For without the Spirit it is impossible to understand them. Read also the viii. to the Romans: "They that are led with the Spirit of God, are the sons of God." Now the son knoweth his father's will, and the servant "that hath not the Spirit of Christ (saith Paul) is none of his." Likewise, he that hath not the Spirit of God, is none of God's, for it is both one Spirit, as thou mayest see in the same place.

Now "He that is of God, heareth the word of God" (John, viii.), and who is of God, but he that

hath the Spirit of God? Furthermore (saith he): "Ye hear it not, because ye are not of God," that is, ye have no lust in the word of God, for ye understand it not, and that because his Spirit is not in you." Forasmuch then as the Scripture is nothing else, but that which the Spirit of God hath spoken by the Prophets and Apostles, and cannot be understood, but of the same Spirit; let every man pray to God, to send him his Spirit to loose him from his natural blindness and ignorance, and to give him understanding, and feeling of the things of God, and of the speaking of the Spirit of God. And mark this process. First, we are damned of nature, so conceived and born, as a serpent is a serpent, and a toad a toad, and a snake a snake, by nature. And as thou seest a young child, which hath pleasure in many things wherein is present death, as in fire, water, and so forth, would slay himself with a thousand deaths, if he were not waited upon and kept therefrom. Even so we, if we should live these thousand years, could in all that time delight in no other thing, nor yet seek any other thing, but that wherein is death of the soul.

Secondarily, of the whole multitude of the nature of man, whom God hath elect and chosen, and to whom he hath appointed mercy and grace in Christ, to them sendeth he his Spirit, which openeth their eyes, sheweth them their misery, and bringeth them unto the knowledge of themselves; so that they hate and abhor themselves, are astonished, and amazed, and at their wit's ends, neither wot what to do, or where to seek health. Then lest they should flee from God by desperation; he comforteth them again with his sweet promises in Christ, and certifieth their hearts, that for Christ's sake they are received to mercy, and their sins forgiven, and they elect and made the sons of God, and heirs with Christ of eter-

nal life; and thus through faith are they set at peace with God.

Now may not we ask why God chooseth one and not another, either think that God is unjust to damn us afore we do any actual deed, seeing tha God hath power over all his creatures of right, to do wth them what he list, or to make of every one of them as he listeth. Our darkness cannot perceive his light. God will be feared, and not have his secret judgments known. Moreover, we by the light of faith see a thousand things, which are impossible to an infidel to see. So likewise, no doubt, in the light of the clear vision of God, we shall see things which now God will not have known. For pride ever accompanieth high knowledge, but grace accompanieth meekness. Let us therefore give diligence rather to do the will of God, than to search his secrets, which are not profitable for us to know.

When we are thus reconciled to God, made the friends of God and heirs of eternal life, the Spirit that God hath poured into us, testifieth that we may not live after our old deeds of ignorance. For how is it possible that we should repent and abhor them, and yet have lust to live in them? We are sure therefore that God hath created, and made us new in Christ, and put his Spirit in us, that we should live a new life, which is the life of good works.

That thou mayest know what are good works, and the end and intent of good works, or wherefore good works serve, mark this that followeth.

The life of a Christian man is inward between him and God, and properly is the consent of the Spirit to the will of God, and to the honour of God. And God's honour is the final end of all good works.

Good works are all things that are done within the laws of God, in which God is honoured, and for which thanks are given to God.



*Fasting* is to abstain from surfeiting, or over-much eating, from drunkenness, and care of the world (as thou mayest read, Luke, xxi.), and the end of fasting is to tame the body, that the Spirit may have a free course to God, and may quietly talk with God. For over-much eating and drinking, and care of worldly business, press down the Spirit, choak her, and tangle her, that she cannot lift up herself to God. Now he that fasteth for any other intent than to subdue the body, that the Spirit may wait on God, and freely exercise herself in the things of God; the same is blind, and wotteth not what he doth, erreth and shooteth at a wrong mark, and his intent and-imagination is abominable in the sight of God. When thou fastest from meat, and drinkest all day, is that a Christian fast? either to eat at one meal that were sufficient for four? A man at four times may bear that he cannot at once. Some fast from meat and drink, and yet so tangle themselves in worldly business that they cannot once think on God. Some abstain from butter, some from eggs, some from all manner of white meat, some this day, some that day, some in honour of this saint, some of that, and every man for a sundry purpose. Some for the tooth-ache, some for the head-ache, for fevers, pestilence, for sudden death, for hanging, drowning, and to be delivered from the pains of hell. Some are so mad that they fast one of the Thursdays between the two St. Mary's days, in the worship of that saint, whose day is hallowed, between Christmas and Candlemas, and that to be delivered from the pestilence. All those men fast without conscience of God; and without knowledge of the true intent of fasting, and do no other than honour saints, as the Gentiles and heathen worshipped their idols, and are drowned in blindness, and know not of the testament that God hath made to manward in Christ's blood. In God

have they neither hope nor confidence, neither believe his promises, neither know his will, but are yet in captivity under the prince of darkness.

*Watch* is not only to abstain from sleep, but also to be circumspect, and to cast all perils, as a man should watch a tower or a castle. We must remember that the snares of the devil are infinite and innumerable, and that every moment arise new temptations, and that in all places meet us fresh occasions. Against which we must prepare ourselves, and turn to God, and complain to him, and make our moan, and desire him of his mercy to be our shield, our tower, our castle, and defence from all evil, to put his strength in us (for without him we can do nought); and above all things we must call to mind, what promises God hath made, and what he hath sworn that he will do to us for Christ's sake, and with strong faith cleave unto them, and desire him of his mercy, and for the love that he hath to Christ, and for his truth's sake to fulfil his promises. If we thus cleave to God with strong faith, and believe his words, then (as saith Paul, 1 Cor. x.) "God is faithful, that he will not suffer us to be tempted above that we are able," or above our might, that is to say, if we cleave to his promises, and not to our own fantasies and imaginations, he will put might and power into us, that shall be stronger than all the temptations, which he shall suffer to be against us.

*Prayer* is a mourning, a longing, and a desire of the Spirit to Godward for that which she lacketh, as a sick man mourneth and sorroweth in his heart, longing for health. Faith ever prayeth. For after that by faith we are reconciled to God, and have received mercy and forgiveness of God, the Spirit longeth and thirsteth for strength to do the will of God, and that God may be honoured, his name hallowed, and his pleasure and will fulfilled. The Spirit

waiteth and watcheth on the will of God, and ever bath her own frailty and weakness before her eyes, and when she seeth temptation and peril draw nigh, she turneth to God and to the testament that God hath made to all that believe and trust in Christ's blood; and desireth God for his mercy, truth, and for the love he hath to Christ, that he will fulfil his promise, that he will succour, help, and give us strength, and that he will sanctify his name in us, and fulfil his godly will in us; and that he will not look on our sin and iniquity, but on his mercy, on his truth, and on the love that he oweth to his Son Christ; and for his sake to keep us from temptation, that we be not overcome, and that he deliver us from evil, and whatsoever moveth us contrary to his godly will.

Moreover, of his own experience he feeleth other men's need, and no less commendeth to God the infirmities of others, than his own, knowing that there is no strength, no help, no succour, but of God only. And as merciful as he feeleth God in his heart to himself-ward, so merciful is he to others, and as greatly as he feeleth his own misery, so great compassion hath he on others. His neighbour is no less care to him than himself. He feeleth his neighbour's grief no less than his own; and whensoever he seeth occasion he cannot but pray for his neighbour, as well as for himself; his nature is to seek the honour of God in all men, and to draw (as much as in him is) all men unto God. This is the law of love, which springeth out of Christ's blood, into the hearts of all them that have their trust in him. No man needeth to bid a Christian man to pray, if he see his neighbours need; if he see it not, put him in remembrance only, and then he cannot but do his duty.

Now, as touching we desire one another to pray for us, that do we to put our neighbour in remem-

brance of his duty, and not that we trust in his holiness. Our trust is in God, in Christ, and in the truth of God's promises; we have also a promise that when two or three or more, agree together in any thing according to the will of God, God heareth us. Notwithstanding as God heareth many, so heareth he few, and so heareth he one, if he pray after the will of God, and desire the honour of God. He that desireth mercy, the same feeleth his own misery and sin; and mourneth in his heart for to be delivered, that he might honour God; and God for his truth must hear him, which saith by the mouth of Christ (Mat. v.): "Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be filled." God for his truth's sake must put the righteousness of Christ in him, and wash his unrighteousness away in the blood of Christ. And be the sinner never so weak, never so feeble and frail; sin he never so oft and so grievous, yet so long as this lust, desire, and mourning to be delivered remaineth in him, God seeth not his sins, reckoneth them not for his truth's sake and love to Christ. He is not a sinner in the sight of God, that would be no sinner. He that would be delivered, hath his heart loose already. His heart sinneth not, but mourneth, repenteth, and consenteth unto the law and will of God, and justifieth God, that is, beareth record that God which made the law is righteous and just. And such an heart, trusting in Christ's blood, is accepted for full righteous. And his weakness, infirmity, and frailty is pardoned, and his sins not looked upon; until God put more strength in him, and fulfil his lust.

When the weak in the faith and unexpert in the mysteries of Christ, desire us to pray for them, then ought we to lead them to the truth and promises of God; and teach them to put their trust in the pro-

mises of God, in love that God hath to Christ, and to us for his sake: and to strengthen their weak consciences, shewing and proving by the Scripture, that as long as they follow the Spirit and resist sin, it is impossible they should fall so deep, that God shall not pull them up again, if they hold fast by the anchor of faith, having trust and confidence in Christ. The love that God hath to Christ is infinite, and Christ did and suffered all things not for himself, to obtain favour; or ought else, for he had ever the full favour of God, and was ever Lord over all things, but to reconcile us to God, and to make us heirs with him of his Father's kingdom: And God hath promised, that "whosoever calleth on his name shall never be confounded," or ashamed. (Rom. ix.) If the righteous fall (saith the Scripture), he shall not be bruised, the Lord shall put his hand under him. Who is righteous, but he that trusteth in Christ's blood, be he never so weak? Christ is our righteousness, and in him ought we to teach all men to trust, and to expound unto all men the testament that God hath made to us sinners in Christ's blood. This ought we to do, and not make a prey of them, to lead them captive, to sit in their consciences, and to teach them to trust in our holiness, good deeds, and prayers; to the intent that we would feed our idle and slow bellies of their great labour and sweat, and so make ourselves christs and saviours. For if I take on me to save others by my merits, make I not myself a christ and a saviour, and am indeed a false prophet, and a true antichrist, and exalt myself, and sit in the temple of God, that is to wit, the consciences of men? Among Christian men, love maketh all things common: every man is other's debtor, and every man is bound to minister to his neighbour; and to supply his neighbour's lack of that wherewith God hath endued him. As thou seest in

the world, how the lords and officers minister peace in the commonwealth, punish murderers, thieves, and evil doers; and to maintain their order and estate do the commons minister to them again rent, tribute, toll, and custom. So, in the Gospel, the curates which in every parish preach the Gospel, ought of duty to receive an honest living for them, and their households; and even so ought the other officers, which are necessarily required in the commonwealth of Christ. We need not to use filthy lucre in the Gospel, to chop and change, and to play the taverners, altering the word of God, as they do their wines, to their most advantage; and to fashion God's word after every man's mouth, or to abuse the name of Christ, to obtain thereby authority and power, to feed our slow bellies. Now seest thou what prayer is, the end thereof and wherefore it serveth.

If thou give me a thousand pounds to pray for thee, I am no more bound than I was before. Man's imagination can make the command of God neither greater nor smaller, neither can to the law of God, either add or diminish. God's commandment is as great as himself. I am bound to love the Turk with all my might and power; yea, and above my power, even from the ground of my heart, after the example that Christ loved me; neither to spare goods, body, nor life, to win him to Christ. And what can I do more for thee, if thou gavest me all the world? Where I see need, there can I not but pray, if God's Spirit be in me.

*Alms* is a Greek word, and signifieth mercy. One Christian is debtor to another at his need of all that he is able to do for him, until his need be sufficed. Every Christian man ought to have Christ always before his eyes, as an ensample to counterfeit and follow; and to do to his neighbour as Christ hath

done to him, as Paul teacheth in all his Epistles, and Peter in his first, and John in his first also. This order useth Paul in all his Epistles. First he preacheth the law, and proveth that the whole nature of man is damned, in that the heart lusteth contrary to the will of God. For if we were of God, no doubt we should have lust in his will. Then preacheth he Christ, the Gospel, the promises, and the mercy that God hath set forth to all men in Christ's blood; which they that believe, and take it for an earnest thing, turn themselves to God, begin to love God again, and to prepare themselves to his will, by the working of the Spirit of God in them. Last of all, exhorteth he to unity, peace, and soberness, to avoid brawlings, sects, opinions, disputing, and arguing about words; and to walk in the plain and single faith, and feeling of the Spirit, and to love one another after the ensample of Christ, even as Christ loved us; and to be thankful, and to walk worthy of the Gospel, and as it becometh Christ, and with the ensample of pure living to draw all to Christ.

Christ is Lord over all, and every Christian is heir annexed with Christ, and therefore lord of all; and every one lord of whatsoever another hath. If thy brother or neighbour therefore need, and thou have to help him, and yet shewest not mercy, but withdrawest thy hands from him, then robbest thou him of his own, and art a thief. A Christian man hath Christ's Spirit. Now, is Christ a merciful thing; if therefore thou be not merciful, after the ensample of Christ, then hast thou not his Spirit: "If thou have not Christ's Spirit, then art thou none of his" (Rom. viii.), nor hast any part with him. Moreover, though thou shew mercy unto thy neighbour, yet if thou do it not with such burning love as Christ did unto thee, so must thou acknowledge thy sin and desire mercy in Christ. A Christian man hath

nought to rejoice in concerning his deeds; his rejoicing is, that Christ died for him, and that he is washed in Christ's blood. Of his deeds rejoiceth he not, neither counteth his merits, neither giveth pardons of them, neither seeketh an higher place in heaven of them, neither maketh himself a saviour of other men through his good works; but giveth all honour to God, and in his greatest deeds of mercy, acknowledgeth himself a sinner unfeignedly, and is abundantly content with the place that is prepared for him of Christ: and his good deeds are to him a sign only that Christ's Spirit is in him, and he in Christ, and through Christ elect to eternal life.

The order of love or charity which some dream, the Gospel of Christ knoweth not of, that a man should begin at himself, and serve himself first, and then descend I wot not by what steps. "Love seeketh not her own" profit (1 Cor. xiii.), but maketh a man to forget himself, and to turn his profit to another man, as Christ sought not himself or his own profit, but ours. This term, *myself*, is not in the Gospel, neither yet father, mother, sister, brother, kinsman, that one should be preferred in love above another, but Christ is all in all things; every Christian man to another is Christ himself, and thy neighbour's need hath as good right in thy goods, as hath Christ himself, which is Heir and Lord over all. And look what thou owest to Christ, that thou owest to thy neighbour's need. To thy neighbour owest thou thine heart, thyself, and all that thou hast and canst do. The love that springeth out of Christ, excludeth no man, neither putteth difference between one and another. In Christ we are all of one degree, without respect of persons. Notwithstanding though a Christian man's heart be open to all men, and receiveth all men, yet because that his ability of goods extendeth not so far, this provision is made, that



every man shall care for his own household; as father and mother, and thine elders that have holpen thee, wife, children, and servants. If thou shouldst not care and provide for thine household, then were thou an infidel, seeing thou hast taken on thee so to do, and forasmuch as that is thy part committed to thee of the congregation. When thou hast done thy duty to thine household, and yet hast further abundance of the blessing of God, that owest thou to the poor that cannot labour, or would labour and can get no work, and are destitute of friends; to the poor, I mean, which thou knowest, to them of thine own parish. For that provision ought to be had in the congregation, that every parish care for their poor. If thy neighbours, which thou knowest, be served, and thou yet have superfluity, and hearest necessity to be among the brethren a thousand miles off, to them art thou debtor. Yea, to the very infidels we be debtors, if they need, as far forth as we maintain them not against Christ, or to blaspheme Christ. Thus is every man that needeth thy help; thy father, mother, sister, and brother in Christ, even as every man that doth the will of the Father, is father, mother, sister, and brother unto Christ.

Moreover, if any be an infidel and a false Christian, and forsake his household, his wife, children, and such as cannot help themselves, then art thou bound to them, and have wherewith, even as much as to thine own household; and they have as good right in thy goods as thou thyself. And if thou withdraw mercy from them, and hast wherewith to help them, then art thou a thief. If thou shew mercy, so dost thou thy duty and art a faithful minister in the household of Christ, and of Christ shalt thou have thy reward and thanks. If the whole world were thine, yet hath every brother his right in thy goods, and is heir with thee as we are all heirs with Christ.

Moreover, the rich and they that have wisdom with them, must see the poor set a work, that as many as are able may feed themselves, with the labour of their own hands, according to the Scripture and commandment of God.

Now, seest thou what alms-deeds meaneth, and wherefore it serveth. He that seeketh with his alms more than to be merciful to a neighbour, to succour his brother's need, to do his duty to his brother, to give his brother that he oweth him, the same is blind, and seeth not what it is to be a Christian man, and to have fellowship in Christ's blood.

As pertaining to good works, understand that all works are good which are done within the law of God in faith and with thanksgiving to God; and understand, that thou in doing them pleasest God, whatsoever thou dost within the law of God. Moreover, put no difference between works, but whatsoever cometh into thy hands, that do; as time, place, and occasion giveth, and as God hath put thee in degree, high or low. For as touching to please God, there is no work better than another. God looketh not first on thy work as the world doth, as though the beautifulness of the work pleased him, as it doth the world, or as though he had need of them. But God looketh first on thy heart, what faith thou hast to his words, how thou believest him, trustest him, and how thou lovest him for his mercy that he hath shewed thee; he looketh with what heart thou workest, and not what thou workest, how thou acceptest the degree that he hath put thee in, and not of what degree thou art, whether thou be an apostle or a shoemaker. Set this ensample before thine eyes: thou art a kitchen page and wastest thy master's dishes, another is an apostle, and preacheth the word of God. Of this apostle hark what Paul saith in the 2 Cor, ix, "If I preach (saith he) I have nought to

rejoice in, for necessity is put unto me, as who should say, God hath made me so, woe is unto me if I preach not. If I do it willingly (saith he), then have I my reward; that is, then am I sure that God's Spirit is in me, and that I am elect to eternal life. If I do it against my will, an office is committed unto me; that is, if I do it not of love to God, but to get a living thereby, and for a worldly purpose, and had rather otherwise live; then do I that office which God hath put me in, and yet please not God myself. Note, now if this apostle preach not (as many do not, which not only make themselves apostles, but also compel men to take them for greater than apostles, yea, for greater than Christ himself), then woe is unto him, that is, his damnation is just. If he preach and his heart not right, yet ministreth he the office that God hath put him in, and they that have the Spirit of God hear the voice of God, yea, though He speak in an ass. Moreover, howsoever he preacheth, he hath not to rejoice in that he preacheth. But and if he preach willingly with a true heart, and of conscience to God, then hath he his reward; that is, then feeleth he the earnest of eternal life and the working of the Spirit of God in him. And as he feeleth God's goodness and mercy, so be thou sure he feeleth his own infirmity, weakness, and unworthiness; and mourneth and acknowledgeth his sin, in that the heart will not arise to work with that full lust and love that is in Christ our Lord; and nevertheless is yet at peace with God, through faith and trust in Christ Jesu. For the earnest of the Spirit that worketh in him, testifieth and beareth witness unto his heart, that God hath chosen him, and that his grace shall suffice him, which grace is now not idle in him. In his works putteth he no trust,

Now, thou that ministrest in the kitchen, and art

but a kitchen page, receivest all things of the hand of God, knowest that God hath put thee in that office, submittest thyself to his will, and servest thy Master, not as a man, but as Christ himself, with a pure heart (according as Paul teacheth us), puttest thy trust in God, and with him seekest thy reward. Moreover, there is not a good deed done but thy heart rejoiceth therein, yea, when thou hearest that the word of God is preached by this apostle, and seest the people turn to God, thou consentest unto the deed, thine heart breaketh out in joy, springeth and leapeth in the breast that God is honoured; and in thine heart dost the same that the apostle doth, and happily with greater delectation, and a more fervent spirit. Now: he that "receiveth a prophet in the name of a prophet, shall receive the reward of a prophet" (Mat. x.): that is, he that consenteth to the deed of a prophet, and maintaineth it, the same hath the same Spirit and earnest of everlasting life, which the prophet hath, and is elect, as the prophet is.

Now, if thou compare deed to deed, there is difference betwixt washing of dishes and preaching of the word of God; but as touching to please God, none at all. For neither that nor this pleaseth, but as far forth as God hath chosen a man, hath put his Spirit in him, and purifieth his heart by faith and trust in Christ.

Let every man therefore wait on the office wherein Christ hath put him, and therein serve his brethren. If he be of low degree, let him patiently therein abide, till God promote him and exalt him higher. Let kings and head officers seek Christ in their offices, and minister peace and quietness unto the brethren; punish sin, and that with mercy, even with the same sorrow and grief of mind, as they would cut off a finger or joint, a leg or arm of their

own body, if there were such disease in them, that either they must be cut off, or else all the body must perish.

Let every man of whatsoever craft or occupation he be of, whether brewer, baker, tailor, victualler, merchant, or husbandman, refer his craft and occupation unto the commonwealth, and serve his brethren as he would do Christ himself. Let him buy and sell truly, and not set dice on his brethren; so sheweth he mercy, and his occupation pleaseth God: and when thou receivest money for thy labour or ware, thou receivest thy duty. For whereinsoever thou minister to thy brethren, thy brethren are debtors to give thee wherewith to maintain thyself and household. And let your superfluities succour the poor, of which sort shall ever be some in all towns, and cities, and villages, and that I suppose the greatest number. Remember that we are members of one body, and ought to minister one to another mercifully. And remember, that whatsoever we have, it is given us of God, to bestow it on our brethren. Let him that eateth, eat and give God thanks, only let not thy meat pull thine heart from God. And let him that drinketh do likewise. Let him that hath a wife give God thanks for his liberty, only let not thy wife withdraw thine heart from God, and then pleasest thou God, and hast the word of God for thee. And in all things look on the word of God, and therein put thy trust, and not in a visor, in a disguised garment, and a cut shoe.

Seek the word of God in all things, and without the word of God do nothing, though it appear never so glorious. Whatsoever is done without the word of God, that count idolatry. "The kingdom of heaven is within us" (Luke, xvii.); wonder therefore at no monstrous shape, nor at any outward thing without the word. For the world was never drawn

from God, but with an outward show and glorious appearance, and shirking of hypocrisy, and of feigned and visored fasting, praying, watching, singing, offering, sacrificittg; hallowing of superstitious ceremonies, and monstrous disguising.

Take this for an ensample: John Baptist, which had testimony of Christ and of the Gospel, that there never rose a greater among women's children, with his fasting, watching, praying, raiment, and strait living, deceived the Jews, and brought them in doubt whether John were very Christ or not; and yet no Scripture or miracle testifying it; so greatly the blind nature of man looketh on the outward shining of works, and regardeth not the inward word which speaketh to the heart. When they sent to John, asking him whether he were Christ, he denied it. When they asked him what he was, and what he said of himself, he answered not, I am he that watcheth, prayeth, drinketh no wine nor strong drink, eateth neither fish nor flesh, but live with wild honey and grasshoppers, and wear a coat of camel's hair, and a girdle of a skin: but said: "I am a voice of a crier;" my voice only pertaineth to you. Those outward things, which ye wonder at, pertain to myself only, unto the taming of my body; to you am I a voice only, and that which I preach. My preaching (if it be received into a penitent or repenting heart) shall teach you how to live and please God, according as God shall shed out his grace on every man. John preached repentance, saying: "Prepare the Lord's way, and make his paths straight." The Lord's way is repentance, and not hypocrisy of man's imagination and invention. It is not possible that the Lord Christ should come to a man, except he know himself and his sin, and truly repent. "Make his paths straight;" the paths are the law, if thou understand it aright as God hath

given it. Christ saith (Mat. xvii.): "Elias shall first come," that is, shall come before Christ, and restore all things, meaning of John Baptist. John Baptist did restore the law and the Scripture unto the right sense and understanding, which the Pharisees partly had darkened, and made of none effect through their own traditions (Mat. xv. where Christ rebuketh them, saying: "Why transgress ye the commandments of God through your traditions?"); and partly had corrupted it with glosses and false interpretations, that no man could understand it. Wherefore Christ rebuketh them (Mat. xxiii.), saying: "Woe be to you Pharisees, hypocrites, which shut up the kingdom of heaven before men; ye enter not yourselves, neither suffer them that come to enter in:" and partly did beguile the people and blind their eyes in disguising themselves, as thou readest (in the same xxiii. chapter) how they made broad and large phylacteries, and did all their works to be seen of men, that the people should wonder at their disguisings and visoring of themselves otherwise than God hath made them; and partly mocked them with hypocrisy of false holiness in fasting, praying; and almsgiving (Mat. vi.); and this did they for lucre to be in authority, to sit in the consciences of people, and to be counted as God himself; that people should trust in their holiness, and not in God; as thou readest in the place above rehearsed (Mat. xxiii.): "Woe be to you Pharisees, hypocrites, which devour widows' houses under a colour of long prayer." Counterfeit therefore nothing without the word of God; when thou understandest that, it shall teach thee all things, how to apply outward things; and whereunto to refer them. Beware of thy good intent, good mind, good affection, or zeal, as they call it; Peter of a good mind, and of a good affection, or zeal, rebid Christ: (Mat. xvi.), because

he said that he must go to Jerusalem, and there be slain. But Christ called him Satan for his labour, a name that belongeth to the devil. And said, that he perceived not godly things, but worldly. Of a good intent, and of a fervent affection to Christ, the sons of Zebedee would have had fire to come down from heaven to consume the Samaritans (Luke, ix.): but Christ rebuked them, saying, that they wist not of what spirit they were, that is, that they understood not how that they were altogether worldly and fleshly minded. Peter smote Malchus of a good zeal; but Christ condemned his deed. The very Jews of a good intent and of a good zeal slew Christ, and persecuted the Apostles, as Paul beareth them record (Rom. x.): "I bear them record (saith he) that they have a fervent mind to Godward, but not according to knowledge." It is another thing then to do of a good mind, and to do of knowledge. Labour for knowledge, that thou mayst know God's will, and what he would have thee to do. Our mind, intent, and affection or zeal are blind, and all that we do of them is damned of God; and for that cause hath God made a testament between him and us, wherein is contained both what he would have us do, and what he would have us to ask of him. See therefore that thou do nothing to please God withal, but that he commandeth; neither ask any thing of him, but that he hath promised thee. The Jews also (as it appeareth, Acts, vii.) slew Stephen of a good zeal, because he proved by the Scripture that God dwelleth not in churches or temples made with hands. The churches at the beginning were ordained that the people should thither resort to hear the word of God there preached only, and not for the use wherein they now are. The temple wherein God will be worshipped is the heart of man; for "God is a Spirit (saith Christ, John, iv.), and will be worship-



ped in the Spirit and in truth;" that is, when a penitent heart consenteth unto the law of God, and with a strong faith longeth for the promises of God. So is God honoured on all sides in that we count him righteous in all his laws and ordinances, and also trust in all his promises. Other worshipping of God is there none, except we make an idol of him.

"It shall be recompensed thee at the rising again of the righteous." (Luke, xiv.) Read the text before, and thou shalt perceive that Christ doth here that same that he doth. Mat. v.; that is, he putteth us in remembrance of our duty, that we be to the poor, as Christ is to us, and also teacheth us how that we can never know whether our love be right, and whether it spring of Christ or no, as long as we are but kind to them only which do as much for us again. But and if we be merciful to the poor for conscience to God, and of compassion and hearty love, which compassion and love spring of the love we have to God in Christ, for the pure mercy and love that he hath shewed on us, then have we a sure token that we are beloved of God; and washed in Christ's blood; and elect by Christ's deserving unto eternal life.

The Scripture speaketh as a father doth to his young son, do this or that, and then will I love thee; yet the father loveth his son first, and studieth with all his power and wit to overcome his child with love; and with kindness to make him do that which is comely, honest, and good for itself. A kind father and mother love their children even when they are evil; that they would shed their blood to make them better, and to bring them into the right way. And a natural child studieth not to obtain his father's love with works, but considereth with what love his father loveth him withal, and therefore loveth again, is glad to do his father's will and studieth to be thankful.

The spirit of the world understandeth not the speaking of God, neither the spirit of the wise of this world, neither the spirit of philosophers, neither the spirit of Socrates, of Plato, or of Aristotle's Ethics, as thou mayst see in the first and second chapter of the first to the Corinthians. Though that many are not ashamed to rail and blaspheme, saying, how should he understand the Scripture, seeing he is no philosopher, neither hath seen his Metaphysics? Moreover, they blaspheme, saying, how can he be a divine and wotteth not what is *subjectum in theologia*? Nevertheless, as a man without the spirit of Aristotle or philosophy, may by the Spirit of God understand Scripture; even so by the Spirit of God, understandeth he that God is to be sought in all the Scripture, and in all things, and yet wotteth not what meaneth *subjectum in theologia*, because it is a term of their own making. If thou shouldst say to him, that hath the Spirit of God, the love of God is the keeping of the commandments, and to love a man's neighbour is to shew mercy; he would, without arguing or disputing understand, how that of the love of God, springeth the keeping of his commandments, and of the love to thy neighbour, springeth mercy. Now, would Aristotle deny such speaking, and a Duns man would make twenty distinctions. If thou shouldst say (as saith John, the fourth of his Epistle), "How can he that loveth not his neighbour whom he seeth, love God whom he seeth not?" Aristotle would say, lo! a man must first love his neighbour and then God; and out of the love to thy neighbour springeth the love to God. But he that feeleth the working of the Spirit of God, and also from what vengeance the blood of Christ hath delivered him, understandeth how it is impossible to love either father or mother; sister, brother, neighbour, or his own self aright, except it spring out of the love to

God ; and perceiveth that the love to a man's neighbour is a sign of the love to God ; as good fruit declareth a good tree, and that the love to a man's neighbour accompanieth and followeth the love of God, as heat accompanieth and followeth fire.

Likewise, when the Scripture saith, Christ shall reward every man at the resurrection or uprising again according to his deeds ; the spirit of Aristotle's Ethics would say, lo ! with the multitude of good works mayst thou and must thou obtain everlasting life, and also a place in heaven, high or low, according as thou hast many or few good works ; and yet wotteth not what a good work meaneth, as Christ speaketh of good works, as he that seeth not the heart but outward things only. But he that hath God's Spirit understandeth it. He feeleth that good works are nothing but fruits of love, compassion, mercifulness, and of a tenderness of heart, which a Christian hath to his neighbour ; and that love springeth of that love which he hath to God, to his will and commandments ; and understandeth also that the love which man hath to God springeth of the infinite love, and bottomless mercy, which God in Christ shewed first to us, as saith John in the Epistle and chapter above rehearsed. " In this (saith he) appeareth the love of God to usward, because that God sent his only begotten Son into the world that we might live through him. Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and sent his Son to make agreement for our sins." In conclusion, a Christian man feeleth that, that unspeakable love and mercy which God hath to us, and that Spirit which worketh all things that are wrought according to the will of God, and that love wherewith we love God, and that love which we have to our neighbour, and that mercy and compassion which we shew on him, and also that eternal life

which is laid up in store for us in Christ, are altogether the gift of God, through Christ's purchasing. If the Scripture said always Christ shall reward thee according to thy faith, or according to thy hope and trust thou hast in God, or according to the love thou hast to God and thy neighbour, so were it true also as thou seest (1 Pet. i.): "Receiving the end or reward of your faith the health or salvation of your souls." But the spiritual things could not be known save by their works, as a tree cannot be known but by her fruit. How could I know that I loved my neighbour, if never occasion were given me to shew mercy unto him? how should I know that I loved God, if I never suffered for his sake? How should I know that God loved me, if there were no infirmity, temptation, peril, and jeopardy, whence God should deliver me? "There is no man that forsaketh house, either father or mother, either brethren or sister, wife or children, for the kingdom of heaven's sake, which shall not receive much more in this world, and in the world to come everlasting life." (Luke, xviii.) Here seest thou that a Christian man, in all his works hath respect to nothing, but unto the glory of God only, and to the maintaining of the truth of God, and doth and leaveth undone all things of love, to the glory and honour of God only, as Christ teacheth in the Pater-noster (Lord's Prayer).

Moreover, when he saith, he shall receive much more in this world of a truth, yea, he hath received much more already. For except he had felt the infinite mercy, goodness, love, and kindness of God, and the fellowship of the blood of Christ, and the comfort of the Spirit of Christ in his heart, he could never have forsaken any thing for God's sake. Notwithstanding (as saith Mark, x.), "Whosoever for Christ's sake and the Gospel's, forsaketh house, bre-

thren, or sisters, &c. he shall receive an hundred fold, houses, brethren," &c. that is spiritually: for Christ shall be made all things unto thee. The angels, all Christians, and whosoever doth the will of the Father, shall be father, mother, sister, and brother unto thee, and all theirs shall be thine. And God shall take the care of thee, and minister all things unto thee, as long as thou seekest but his honour only. Moreover, if thou were Lord over all the world, yea, of ten worlds, before thou knewest God; yet was not thine appetite quenched, thou thirstest for more. But if thou seek his honour only, then shall he slake thy thirst, and thou shalt have all that thou desirest, and shall be content, yea, if thou dwell among infidels, and among the most cruel nation of the world, yet shall he be a Father unto thee, and shall defend thee, as he did Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and all saints whose lives thou readest in the Scripture. For all that are past and gone before, are but ensamples to strengthen our faith, and trust in the word of God. It is the same God, and hath sworn to us, all that he sware unto them, and is as true as ever he was, and therefore cannot but fulfil his promises to us, as well as he did to them, if we believe as they did.

"The hour shall come when all they that are in the graves shall hear his voice (that is to say, Christ's voice), and shall come forth; they that have done good into the resurrection of life; and they that have done evil into the resurrection of damnation." (John, v.) This and all like texts declare what followeth good works, and that our deeds shall testify with us or against us at that day, and putteth us in remembrance to be diligent and fervent in doing good. Hereby mayst thou not understand that we obtain the favour of God and the inheritance of life through the merit of good works, as hirelings do their wages.

For then shouldst thou rob Christ, "of whose fulness we have received favour for favour," (John, i.) that is, God's favour was so full in Christ, that for his sake he giveth us his favour, as affirmeth also Paul (Eph. i.): "He loved us in his beloved by whom we have (saith Paul) redemption through his blood, and forgiveness of sins." The forgiveness of sins then is our redemption in Christ and not the reward of works. "In whom (saith he in the same place) he chose us before the making of the world, that is, long before we did good works. Through faith in Christ are we also the sons of God, as thou readest (John, i.): "In that they believed on his name, he gave them power to be the sons of God." God with all his fulness and riches dwelleth in Christ, and out of Christ must we fetch all things. Thou readest also (John, iii.): "He that believeth on the Son hath eternal life, and he that believeth not, shall see no life, but the wrath of God abideth upon him." Here seest thou that the wrath and vengeance of God possesseth every man till faith come. Faith and trust in Christ expelleth the wrath of God, and bringeth favour, the Spirit, power to do good, and everlasting life. Moreover, until Christ hath given thee light, thou knowest not wherein standeth the goodness of thy works, and until his Spirit hath loosed thine heart, thou canst not consent unto good works. All that is good in us, both will and works, cometh of the favour of God through Christ, to whom be the laud. Amen.

"If any man will do his will (he meaneth the will of the Father) he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I speak of myself." (John, vii.) This text meaneth not that any man of his own strength, power, and free will (as they call it), can do the will of God, before he hath received the Spirit, and strength of Christ through faith. But

here is meant that which is spoken in the third of John, when Nicodemus marvelled how it were possible, that a man should be born again. Christ answered : " That which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit ;" as who should say, he that hath the Spirit through faith, and is born again, and made anew in Christ, understandeth the things of the Spirit, and what he that is spiritual meaneth. But he that is flesh, and as Paul saith (1 Cor. ii.), a natural man, and led of his blind reason only, can never ascend to the capacity of the Spirit. And he giveth an ensample, saying, " The wind bloweth where he listeth, and thou hearest his voice and wottest not whence he cometh nor whither he will. So is every man that is born of the Spirit : " he that speaketh of the Spirit, can never be understood of the natural man, which is but flesh and savoureth no more than things of the flesh. So here meaneth Christ, if any man have the Spirit, and consenteth unto the will of God, this same at once wotteth what I mean. " If ye understand these things, happy are ye if ye do them." (John, xiii.)

A Christian man's heart is with the will of God, with the law and commandments of God ; and hungereth and thirsteth after strength to fulfil them, and mourneth day and night, desiring God according to his promises, for to give him power to fulfil the will of God with love and lust : then testifieth his deed that he is blessed, and that the Spirit which blesseth us in Christ, is in him, and ministereth such strength. The outward deed testifieth what is within us, as thou readest (John, v.) : " The deeds which I do testify of me," saith Christ. And (John, xiii.), " Hereby shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another." And (John, xiv.), " He that hath my commandments, and keepeth them, the same it is that loveth me." And again, " He

that loveth me keepeth my commandments; and he that loveth me not, keepeth not my commandments;" the outward deed testifying of the inward heart. And (John, xv.), "If ye shall keep my commandments ye shall continue in my love; as I keep my Father's commandments and continue in his love." That is, as ye see the love that I have to my Father, in that I keep his commandments, so shall ye see the love that ye have to me, in that ye keep my commandments.

Thou mayst not think that our deeds bless us first, and that we prevent God and his grace in Christ; as though we in our natural gifts, and being as we were born in Adam, looked on the law of God, and of our own strength fulfilled it, and so became righteous; and then with that righteousness obtained the favour of God. As philosophers write of righteousness, and as righteousness of temporal law is, where the law is satisfied with the hypocrisy of the outward deed. For contrary to that, readest thou (John, xv.): "Ye have not chosen me (saith Christ), but I have chosen you, that ye go and bring forth fruit, and that your fruit remain." And in the same chapter, "I am a vine, and ye the branches, and without me can ye do nothing;" with us therefore so goeth it. In Adam are we all as it were wild crab trees, of which God chooseth whom he will, and plucketh them out of Adam, and planteth them in the garden of his mercy, and stocketh them, and grafteth the Spirit of Christ in them, which bringeth forth the fruit of the will of God; which fruit testifieth that God hath blessed us in Christ. Note this also, that as long as we live we are yet partly carnal and fleshly (notwithstanding that we are in Christ, and though it be not imputed unto us for Christ's sake), for there abideth and remaineth in us yet of the old Adam, as it were the stock of the crab tree, and ever among when



occasion is given him, shooteth forth his branches and leaves, bud, blossom, and fruit. Against whom we must fight and subdue him, and change all his nature by little and little with prayer, fasting, and watching, with virtuous meditation and holy works, until we be altogether Spirit. "The kingdom of heaven (saith Christ, Mat. xiii.) is like leaven which a woman taketh and hideth in three pecks of meal till all be leavened." The leaven is the Spirit, and we the meal which must be seasoned with the Spirit by a little and a little, till we be throughout spiritual.

"Which shall reward every man according to his deed" (Rom. ii.); that is, according as the deeds are, so shall every man's reward be; the deeds declare what we are, as the fruit the tree, according to the fruit shall the tree be praised. The reward is given of the mercy and truth of God, and by the deserving and merits of Christ. Whosoever repenteth, believeth the Gospel, and putteth his trust in Christ's merits, the same is heir with Christ of eternal life; for assurance whereof the Spirit of God is poured into his heart as an earnest, which looseth him from the bonds of Satan, and giveth him lust and strength every day more and more, according as he is diligent to ask of God for Christ's sake. And eternal life followeth good living. "I suppose (saith St. Paul in the same Epistle, the viii. chapter), that the afflictions of this world are not worthy of the glory which shall be shewed on us;" that is to say, that, which we here suffer, can never deserve that reward, which there shall be given us.

Moreover, if the reward should depend and hang of the works, no man should be saved; forasmuch as our best deeds, compared to the law, are damnable sin. "By the deeds of the law is no flesh justified," as it is written in the iii. chapter to the Romans.

The law justifieth not, but uttereth the sin only, and compelleth and driveth the penitent or repenting sinner to flee unto the sanctuary of mercy in the blood of Christ. Also, repent we never so much, be we never so well willing unto the law of God, yet are we so weak, and the snares and occasions so innumerable, that we fall daily and hourly. So that we could not but despair, if the reward hanged of the work. Whosoever ascribeth eternal life unto the deserving and merits of works, must fall into one of two inconveniences; either must he be a blind Pharisee, not seeing that the law is spiritual and he carnal, and look and rejoyce in the outward shining of his deeds, despising the weak, and in respect of them justify himself; or else (if he see how that the law is spiritual, and he never able to ascend unto that which the law requireth) he must needs despair. Let every Christian man therefore rejoyce in Christ, our hope, trust, and righteousness, in whom we are loved, chosen, and accepted unto the inheritance of eternal life; neither presuming in our perfectness, neither despairing in our weakness. The perfecter a man is, the clearer is his sight, and seeth a thousand things which displease him, and also perfectness that cannot be obtained in this life. And therefore desireth to be with Christ, where is no more sin. Let him that is weak, and cannot do that he would fain do, not despair, but turn to him that is strong and hath promised to give strength to all that ask of him in Christ's name; and complain to God, and desire him to fulfil his promises, and to God commit himself. And he shall of his mercy and truth strengthen him, and make him feel with what love he is beloved for Christ's sake, though he be never so weak.

“They are not righteous before God which hear the law, but they which do the law shall be justified.” (Rom. ii.) This text is plainer than that it needeth

to be expounded. In the chapter before, Paul proveth that the law natural help not the Gentiles (as appeareth by the law, statutes, and ordinances which they made in their cities), yet kept they them not. The great keep the small under for their own profit with the violence of the law. Every man praiseth the law as far forth as it is profitable and pleasant unto himself; but when his own appetites should be restrained, then grudgeth he against the law. Moreover, he proveth that no knowledge help the Gentiles; for though the learned men (as the philosophers) came to the knowledge of God by the creatures of the world, yet had they no power to worship God. In this second chapter proveth he that the Jews (though they had the law written) yet it help them not; they could not keep it, but were idolaters, and were also murderers, adulterers, and whatsoever the law forbad. He concludeth therefore that the Jew is as well damned as the Gentile. If hearing of the law only might have justified, then had the Jews been righteous. But it required that a man do the law, if he will be righteous; which because the Jew did not, he is no less damned than the Gentile. The publishing and declaring of the law doth but utter a man's sin, and giveth neither strength nor help to fulfil the law. The law killeth thy conscience, and giveth thee no lust to fulfil the law. Faith in Christ giveth lust and power to do the law. Now is it true, that he which doth the law is righteous, but that doth no man, save he that believeth and putteth his trust in Christ.

“If any man's work, that he hath built upon, abide, he shall receive a reward.” (1 Cor. ii.) The circumstance of the same chapter, that is to wit, that which goeth before, and that which followeth declareth plainly what is meant. Paul talketh of learning, doctrine, or preaching; he saith that he himself hath

laid the foundation, which is Jesus Christ ; and that no man can lay any other. He exhorteth therefore every man to take heed what he buildeth upon, and borroweth a similitude of the goldsmith, which trieth his metals with fire ; saying, that the fire (that is) the judgment of the Scripture, shall try every man's work, that is, every man's preaching and doctrine. If any man build upon the foundation laid of Paul, I mean Jesus Christ, gold, silver, or precious stone, which are all one thing, and signify true doctrine ; which, when it is examined, the Scripture alloweth, then shall he have his reward : that is, he shall be sure that his learning is of God, and that God's Spirit is in him, and that he shall have the reward that Christ hath purchased for him. On the other side, if any man build thereon timber, hay, or stubble, which are all one, and signify doctrine of man's imagination, traditions, and fantasies, which stand not with Christ, when they are examined and judged by the Scripture ; he shall suffer damage, but shall be saved himself, yet as it were through fire, that is, it shall be painful unto him, that he hath lost his labour, and to see his building perish ; notwithstanding, if he repent and embrace the truth in Christ, he shall obtain mercy and be saved. But if Paul were now alive and would defend his own learning, he should be tried through fire ; not through fire of the judgment of Scripture (for that light men now utterly refuse), but by the pope's law, and with fire of fagots.

“ We must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, for to receive every man according to the deeds of his body.” (2 Cor. v.) As thy deeds testify of thee, so shall thy reward be. Thy deeds be evil, then is the wrath of God upon thee, and thine heart is evil, and so shall thy reward be, if thou repent not. Fear therefore, and cry to God for grace, that thou mayst love his laws ; and when thou lovest them,

cease not till thou have obtained power of God to fulfil them ; so shalt thou be sure that a good reward shall follow ; which reward, not thy deeds, but Christ's have purchased for thee, whose purchasing also is that lust which thou hast to God's law, and that might, wherewith thou fulfillest them. Remember also, that a reward is rather called that which is given freely, than that which is deserved. That which is deserved, is called (if thou wilt give him his right name) hire or wages. A reward is given freely to provoke unto love and to make friends.

“Remember that whatsoever good things any man doth, that shall he receive of the Lord” (Eph. vi.) ; “remembering that ye shall receive of the Lord the reward of inheritance.” (Col. iii.) These two texts are exceeding plain ; Paul meaneth, as doth Peter (2 Pet. ii.), that servants should obey their masters with all their hearts, and with good will, though they were never so evil. Yea, he will that all, that are under power, obey, even of heart and of conscience to God, because God will have it so, be the rulers never so wicked. The children must obey father and mother, be they never so cruel or unkind ; likewise the wife her husband, the servant his master, the subjects and commons their lord or king. Why ? “for ye serve the Lord,” saith he (Col. iii.) ; we are Christ's, and Christ hath bought us, as thou readest (Rom. xiv. 1 Cor. vi. 1 Pet. i.), Christ is our Lord and we his possession ; and his also is the commandment. Now, ought not the cruelty and churlishness of father and mother, of husband, master, lord, or king, cause us to hate the commandment of our so kind a Lord Christ ; which spared not his blood for our sakes, which also hath purchased for us with his blood, that reward of eternal life, which life shall follow the patience of good living, and whereunto our good deeds testify

that we are chosen. Furthermore, we are so carnal, that if the rulers be good we cannot know whether we keep the commandments for the love that we have to Christ, and to God through him, or no. But and if thou canst find in thine heart, do good unto him that rewardeth thee evil again; then art thou sure that the same Spirit is in thee that is in Christ. And it followeth in the same chapter to the Colossians, "He that doth wrong shall receive for the wrong that he hath done;" that is, God shall avenge thee abundantly, which seeth what wrong is done unto thee; and yet suffereth it for a time, that thou mightest feel thy patience, and the working of his Spirit in thee, and be made perfect. Therefore, see that thou not once desire vengeance, but remit all vengeance unto God, as Christ did: "which (saith 1 Pet. ii.), when he was reviled, reviled not again, neither threatened when he suffered." Unto such obedience, unto such patience, unto such a poor heart, and unto such feeling is Paul's meaning to bring all men, and not unto the vain disputing of them that ascribe so high a place in heaven unto their merits, which as they feel not the working of God's Spirit, so obey they no man. If the king do unto them but right, they will interdict the whole realm, curse, excommunicate, and send them down far beneath the bottom of hell, as they have brought the people out of their wits, and made them mad to believe.

"Thy prayers and alms are come up into remembrance in the presence of God" (Acts, x.); that is, God forgetteth thee not, though he come not at the first calling, he looketh on, and beholdeth thy prayers and alms. Prayer cometh from the heart. God looketh first on the heart, and then on the deed, as thou readest (Gen. iv.), God beheld or looked first on Abel, and then on his offering. If the heart be

impure, the deed verily pleaseth not, as thou seest in Cain. Mark the order. In the beginning of the chapter thou readest, there was a certain man named Cornelius, which feared God, gave much alms, and prayed God alway. He feared God, that is, he trembled and quaked to break the commandments of God. Then prayed he alway. Prayer is the fruit, effect, deed, or act of faith, and is nothing but the longing of the heart for those things, which a man lacketh and which God hath promised to give him. He doth also alms. Alms is the fruit, effect, or deed of compassion and pity, which we have to our neighbour. Oh ! a glorious faith, and a right, which so trusteth God, and believeth his promises, that she feareth to break his commandments, and is also merciful unto her neighbour. This is that faith, whereof thou readest, namely, in Peter, Paul, and John ; that we are thereby both justified and saved. And whosoever imagineth any other faith, deceiveth himself, and is a vain disputer, and a brawler about words, and hath no feeling in his heart.

Though thou consent to the law that it is good, righteous, and holy, sorrowest and repentest because thou hast broken it, mournest because thou hast no strength to fulfil it ; yet art thou not thereby at one with God. Yea, thou shouldst shortly despair and blaspheme God, if the promises of forgiveness and of help were not thereby, and faith in thine heart to believe them. Faith therefore setteth thee at one with God.

Faith prayeth alway : -for she hath alway her infirmities and weaknesses before her eyes, and also God's promises, for which she alway longeth, and in all places. But blind unbelief prayeth not alway, nor in all places, but in the church only ; and that in such a church, where it is not lawful to preach God's promises, neither to teach men to trust therein.

Faith, when she prayeth, setteth not her good deeds before her, saying, Lord, for my good deeds do this or that; nor bargaineth with God, saying, Lord grant me this, or do this or that, and I will do this or that for thee; as mumble so many daily: go so far; or fast this, or that fast; enter in this religion, or that; with such other points of infidelity, yea, rather idolatry. But she setteth her infirmities, and her lack before her face, and God's promises, saying, Lord for thy mercy and truth which thou hast sworn, be merciful unto me, and pluck me out of this prison, and out of this hell; and loose the bands of Satan, and give me power to glorify thy name. Faith therefore justifieth in the heart, and before God, and the deeds justify outwardly before the world; that is, testify only before men, what we are inwardly before God.

“Whosoever looketh in the perfect law of liberty, and continueth therein (if he be not a forgetful hearer, but a doer of the work), he shall be happy in his deed.” (James, i.) The law of liberty; that is, which requireth a free heart, or (if thou fulfil it) declareth a free heart loosed from the bonds of Satan. The preaching of the law maketh no man free, but bindeth; for it is the key that bindeth all consciences unto eternal damnation, when it is preached; as the promises or Gospel is the key that looseth all consciences that repent, when they are bound through preaching of the law. He shall be happy in his deed, that is, by his deed shall he know that he is happy, and blessed of God, which hath given him a good heart, and power to fulfil the law. By hearing the law thou shalt not know that thou art blessed; but if thou do it, it declareth that thou art happy and blessed.

“Was not Abraham justified of his deeds, when he offered his son Isaac upon the altar?” (James, ii.)



His deed justified him before the world, that is, it declared and uttered the faith, which both justifieth him before God, and wrought that wonderful work, as James also affirmeth.

“ Was not Rahab the harlot, justified, when she received the messengers, and sent them out another way ?” (James, ii.) that is likewise, outwardly ; but before God, she was justified by faith, which wrought that outward deed, as thou mayst see (Joshua, ii.). She had heard what God had done in Egypt, in the Red Sea, in the desert, and unto the two kings of the Amorites, Sehon, and Og. And she confessed, saying, “ Your Lord God, he is God in heaven above, and in earth beneath.” She also believed that God, as he had promised the children of Israel, would give them the land wherein she dwelt, and consented thereunto, submitted herself unto the will of God, and holp God (as much as in her was) and saved his spies and messengers. The others feared that, which she believed, but resisted God with all their might ; and had no power to submit themselves unto the will of God. And therefore perished they, and she was saved ; and that through faith, as we read (Heb. xi.), where thou mayst see how the holy fathers were saved through faith, and how faith wrought in them. Faith is the goodness of all the deeds that are done within the law of God, and maketh them good and glorious, seem they never so vile ; and unbelief maketh them damnable, seem they never so glorious.

As pertaining to that, which James in this second chapter saith, “ What availeth, though a man say that he hath faith, if he have no deeds ? Can faith save him ?” And again, “ Faith without deeds is dead in itself. And the devils believe and tremble. And as the body without the Spirit is dead, even so faith without deeds is dead.” It is manifest and clear, that he meaneth not of the faith, whereof Peter and

Paul spake in their Epistles, John in his Gospel and first Epistle, and Christ in the Gospel, when he saith : " Thy faith hath made thee safe ;" " Be it to thee according to thy faith ;" " Or great is thy faith," and so forth ; and of which James himself speaketh in the first chapter, saying : " Of his own will begat he us with the word of life," that is in believing the promises wherein is life, are we made the sons of God.

Which thing I also this wise prove. Paul saith, " How shall or can they believe without a preacher ? How should they preach except they were sent ?" Now, I pray you, when was it heard that God sent any man to preach unto the devils, or that he made them any good promise ? He threateneth them oft, but never sent ambassadors to preach any atonement between him and them. Take an ensample that thou mayst understand. Let there be two poor men, both destitute of raiment in a cold winter, the one strong that he feeleth no grief, the other grievously mourning for pain of the cold. I then come by, and moved with pity and compassion, say unto him that feeleth his disease, come to such a place and I will give thee raiment sufficient. He believeth, cometh, and obtaineth that which I have promised. That other seeth all this and knoweth it, but is partaker of nought, for he hath no faith, and that is because there is no promise made him. So is it of the devils. The devils have no faith : for faith is but an earnest believing of God's promises. Now are there no promises made unto the devils, but sore threatenings. The old philosophers knew that there was one God, but yet had no faith ; for they had no power to seek his will, neither to worship him. The Turks and the Saracens know that there is one God, but yet have no faith ; for they have no power to worship God in Spirit, to seek his pleasure, and to

submit them unto his will ; they made an idol of God (as we do for the most part), and worshipped him every man after his own imagination and for a sundry purpose. What we will have done, that must God do ; and to do our will, worship we him, and pray unto him : but what God will have done, that will neither Turk nor Saracen, nor the most part of us do. Whatsoever we imagine righteous, that must God admit. But God's righteousness will not our hearts admit. Take another ensample. Let there be two such, as I spake of before, and I promise both ; and the one, because he feeleth not his disease, cometh not ; so is it of God's promises. No man is help by them, but sinners that feel their sins, mourn, and sorrow for them, and repent with all their hearts. For John Baptist went before Christ, and preached repentance ; that is, he preached the law of God right, and brought the people into knowledge of themselves, and unto the fear of God, and then sent them unto Christ to be healed. For in Christ and for his sake only, hath God promised to receive us unto mercy, to forgive us, and to give us power to resist sin.

How shall God save thee, when thou knowest not thy damnation ? How shall Christ deliver thee from sin, when thou wilt not acknowledge thy sin ? Now, I pray thee, how many thousands are there of them that say, I believe that Christ was born of a virgin, that he died, that he rose again, and so forth ; and thou canst not bring them in belief, that they have any sin at all ? How many are there of the same sort, which thou canst not make believe, that a thousand things are sin, which God damneth for sin all the Scripture throughout ? As, to buy as good-cheap as he can, and to sell as dear as he can ; to raise the market of corn and victual for his own advantage, without respect

of his neighbour or of the poor of the commonwealth, and such like. Moreover, how many hundred thousands are there, which when they have sinned, and acknowledge their sins, yet trust in a bald ceremony, or in a lousy friar's coat and merits; or in the prayers of them that devour widows' houses, and eateth the poor out of house and harbour, in a thing of his own imagination, in a foolish dream, and a false vision, and not in Christ's blood and in the truth that God hath sworn? All these are faithless, for they follow their own righteousness, and are disobedient unto all manner of righteousness of God; both unto the righteousness of God's law, wherewith he damnth all our deeds (for though some of them see their sins for fear of pain, yet had they rather that such deeds were no sin), and also unto the righteousness of the truth of God in his promises, whereby he saveth all that repent and believe them. For though they believe that Christ died, yet believe they not that he died for their sins, and that his death is a sufficient satisfaction for their sins, and that God for his sake will be a Father unto them, and give them power to resist sin.

Paul saith (Rom. x.): "If thou confess with thy mouth, that Jesus is the Lord, and believe with thine heart that God raised him up from death, thou shalt be safe." That is, if thou beleeve, he raised him up again for thy salvation. Many believe that God is rich and almighty, but not unto themselves, and that he will be good unto them, and defend them, and be their God.

Pharaoh, for pain of the plague, was compelled to confess his sins, but had yet no power to submit himself unto the will of God, and to let the children of Israel go, and to lose so great profit for God's pleasure. As our prelates confess their sins, saying, though we be never so evil, yet have we the power. And again, the Scribes and the Pharisees (say they)

sat in Moses' seat ; do as they teach, but not as they do ; thus confess they that they are abominable. But to the second I answer, if they sat on Christ's seat, they would preach Christ's doctrine ; now preach they their own traditions, and therefore not to be heard. If they preached Christ, we ought to hear them, though they were never so abominable ; as they of themselves confess, and yet have no power to amend ; neither to let loose Christ's flock to serve God in the Spirit, which they hold captive, compelling them to serve their false lies. The devils felt the power of Christ, and were compelled against their wills to confess that he was the Son of God, but had no power to be content therewith, neither to consent unto the ordinance and eternal counsel of the everlasting God, as our prelates feel the power of God against them, but yet have no grace to give room unto Christ, because that they (as the devil's nature is) will themselves sit in his holy temple, that is to wit, the consciences of men.

Simon Magus believed (Acts, viii.) with such a faith as the devils confessed Christ, but had no right faith, as thou seest in the said chapter. For he repented not, consenting unto the law of God. Neither believed the promises, or longed for them, but wondered only at the miracles which Philip wrought, and because that he himself in Philip's presence had no power to use his witchcraft, sorcery, and art-magic, wherewith he mocked and deluded the wits of the people. He would have bought the gift of God, to have sold it much dearer ; as his successors now do, and not the successors of Simon Peter. For were they Simon Peter's successors, they would preach Christ, as he did ; but they are Simon Magus' successors, of which Simon Peter well proved in the second chapter of his second Epistle, saying, " There were false prophets among the people

(meaning of the Jews), even as there shall be false teachers or doctors among you, which privily shall bring in sects damnable;" sects are part taking, as one holdeth of Francis, another of Dominic, which thing Paul also rebuketh (1 Cor. i. and iii.): "Even denying the Lord that bought them" (for they will not be saved by Christ, neither suffer any man to preach him to others). "And many shall follow their damnable ways" (thou wilt say, shall God suffer so many to go out of the right ways so long? I answer, many must follow their damnable ways, or else must Peter be a false prophet); "by which the way of truth shall be evil spoken of" (as it is now at this present time, for it is heresy to preach the truth); "and through covetousness shall they with feigned words make merchandise of you;" of their merchandise and covetousness it needeth not to make rehearsal, for they that be blind see it evidently.

Thus seest thou that James, when he saith, "Faith without deeds is dead, and as the body without the Spirit is dead, so is faith without deeds;" and "the devils believe;" that he meaneth not of the faith, and trust that we have in the truth of God's promises, and his holy testament, made unto us in Christ's blood; which faith followeth repentance, and the consent of the heart unto the law of God, and maketh a man safe, and setteth him at peace with God. But speaketh of that false opinion and imagination wherewith some say, I believe that Christ was born of a virgin, and that he died, and so forth. That believe they verily, and so strongly, that they are ready to slay whosoever would say the contrary. But they believe not that Christ died for their sins, and that his death hath appeased the wrath of God, and hath obtained for them all that God hath promised in the Scripture. For how can they believe that Christ died for their sins, and that he is their

only and sufficient Saviour, seeing that they seek other saviours of their own imagination ; and seeing that they feel not their sins, neither repent, except that some repent (as I above said) for fear of pain ; but for no love, nor consent unto the law of God, nor longing that they have for those good promises which he hath made them in Christ's blood. If they repented and loved the law of God, and longed for that help which God had promised to give to all that call on him for Christ's sake, then verily must God's truth give them power and strength to do good works, whensoever occasion were given, either must God be a false God. " But let God be true, and every man a liar," as Scripture saith. " For the truth of God lasteth ever, to whom only be all honour and glory for ever." Amen.

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*The foregoing TRACT OF " THE PARABLE OF THE WICKED MAMMON" was published by Tindal in the year 1527, and is given entire from his Works, commencing at Page 61, and concluding at Page 96.*

## EXTRACTS

*Taken from a Work of Tindal, called, "The Obedience of a Christian Man," first published A. D. 1528; it commences at Page 97 of his Works.*

*On Persecution for Righteousness' Sake, at Page 99.*

TRIBULATION is a blessing that cometh of God, as witnesseth Christ (Mat. v.): "Blessed are they that suffer persecution for righteousness sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." Is not this a comfortable word? Who ought not rather to choose and desire to be blessed with Christ in a little tribulation, than to be cursed perpetually with the world for a little pleasure?

Prosperity is a right curse, and a thing that God giveth unto his enemies. "Woe be to you rich (saith Christ, Luke, vi.); for ye have your consolation: woe be to you that are full, for ye shall hunger; woe be to you that laugh, for ye shall weep: woe be to you when men praise you, for so did their fathers unto the false prophets: yea, and so have our fathers done unto the false hypocrites." The hypocrites, with worldly preaching, have not gotten the praise only, but even the possessions also, and the dominion and rule of the whole world.

Tribulation for righteousness is not a blessing only, but also a gift that God giveth unto none save his special friends. The Apostles (Acts, v.) rejoiced that they were counted worthy to suffer rebuke for Christ's sake. And Paul (2 Tim. iii.) saith: "All that will live godly in Christ Jesus must suffer persecution." And (Phil. i.) he saith: "Unto you it is given not only to believe in Christ, but also to suffer for his sake." Here seest thou, that it is God's gift to suffer for Christ's sake. And 1 Pet. iv. saith:



"Happy are ye, if ye suffer for the name of Christ, for the glorious Spirit of God resteth upon you." Is it not an happy thing, to be sure that thou art sealed with God's Spirit, unto everlasting life? And verily, thou art sure thereof, if thou suffer patiently for his sake. By suffering art thou sure; but by persecuting canst thou never be sure. For Paul (Rom. v.) saith: "Tribulation maketh feeling," that is, it maketh us feel the goodness of God, and his help, and the working of his Spirit. (2 Cor. xii.) The Lord said unto Paul: "My grace is sufficient for thee: for my strength is made perfect through weakness." Lo! Christ is never strong in us, till we be weak. As our strength abateth, so groweth the strength of Christ in us: when we are clean emptied of our own strength, then are we full of Christ's strength; and look how much of our own strength remaineth in us, so much lacketh there of the strength of Christ. Therefore saith Paul (2 Cor. xii.): "Very gladly will I rejoice in my weakness, that the strength of Christ may dwell in me. Therefore have I delectation (saith Paul) in infirmities, in rebukes, in need, in persecutions, and in anguish for Christ's sake: for when I am weak then am I strong." Meaning, that the weakness of the flesh is the strength of the Spirit. And by flesh understand wit, wisdom, and all that is in a man, before the Spirit of God come, and whatsoever springeth not of the Spirit of God, and of God's word. And of like testimonies is all the Scripture full.

Behold, God setteth before us a blessing and also a curse. A blessing verily, and that a glorious and an everlasting, if we will suffer tribulation and adversity with our Lord and Saviour Christ. And an everlasting curse: if, for a little pleasure sake, we withdraw ourselves from the chastising and nurture of God, wherewith he teacheth all his sons; and

fashioneth them after his godly will, and maketh them perfect (as he did Christ), and maketh them apt and meet vessels to receive his grace and his Spirit; that they might perceive and feel the exceeding mercy which we have in Christ, and the innumerable blessings, and the unspeakable inheritance whereunto we are called, and chosen, and sealed in our Saviour Jesus Christ, unto whom be praise for ever. Amen.

Finally, whom God chooseth to reign everlastingly with Christ, him sealeth he with his mighty Spirit, and poureth strength into his heart to suffer afflictions also with Christ, for bearing witness unto the truth. And this is the difference between the children of God and of salvation, and between the children of the devil and of damnation; that the children of God have power in their hearts to suffer for God's word, which is their life and salvation, their hope and trust, and whereby they live in the soul and Spirit before God. And the children of the devil in time of adversity fly from Christ, whom they followed feignedly, their hearts not sealed with his holy and mighty Spirit, and get them to the standard of their right father the devil, and take his wages, the pleasures of this world, which are the earnest of everlasting damnation: which conclusion the xii. chapter to the Hebrews well confirmeth, saying, "My son, despise not thou the chastising of the Lord, neither faint when thou art rebuked of him: for whom the Lord loveth, him he chastiseth, yea, and he scourgeth every son whom he receiveth." Lo! persecution and adversity for the truth's sake is God's scourge, and God's rod, and pertaineth unto all his children indifferently; for when he saith, he scourgeth every son, he maketh none exception. Moreover, saith the text: "If ye shall endure chastising, God offereth himself unto you as unto sons: what son is

it that the father chastiseth not? If ye be not under correction (whereof all are partakers), then are ye bastards and not sons."

Forasmuch then as we must needs be baptized in tribulations, and through the Red Sea, and a great and a fearful wilderness, and a land of cruel giants, into our natural country; yea, and inasmuch as it is a plain earnest, that there is no other way into the kingdom of life, than through persecution, and suffering of pain, and of very death, after the ensample of Christ: therefore, let us arm our souls with the comfort of the Scriptures. How that God is ever ready at hand in time of need to help us; and how that such tyrants and persecutors are but God's scourge, and his rod to chastise us. And as the father hath alway in time of correction the rod fast in his hand, so that the rod doth nothing, but as the father moveth it; even so, hath God all tyrants in his hand, and letteth them not do whatsoever they would; but as much only as he appointeth them to do, and as far forth as it is necessary for us. And as when the child submitteth himself unto his father's correction and nurture, and humbleth himself altogether unto the will of his father, then the rod is taken away: even so, when we are come unto the knowledge of the right way, and have forsaken our own will, and offer ourselves clean unto the will of God, to walk which way soever he will have us; then turneth he the tyrants, or else, if they enforce to persecute any further; he putteth them out of the way according unto the comfortable ensamples of the Scripture.

Moreover, let us arm our souls with the promises both of help and assistance, and also of the glorious reward that followeth: "Great is your reward in heaven," saith Christ (Mat. v.); and, "He that acknowledgeth me before men, him will I acknow-

ledge before my Father that is in heaven" (Mat. x.); and, "Call on me in time of tribulation, and I will deliver thee" (Psal. l.); and, "Behold the eyes of the Lord are over them that fear him and over them that trust in his mercy: to deliver their souls from death, and to feed them in time of hunger" (Psal. xxxiii.); and (Psal. xxxiv.), saith David: "The Lord is nigh them that are troubled in their hearts; and the meek in spirit will he save. The tribulations of the righteous are many, and out of them all will the Lord deliver them. The Lord keepeth all the bones of them, so that not one of them shall be bruised. The Lord shall redeem the souls of his servants." And of such like consolation are all the Psalms full: would to God, when ye read them, ye understood them.

And (Mat. x.), "When they deliver you, take no thought what ye shall say: it shall be given you the same hour what ye shall say: for it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you."—"The very hairs of your head are numbered," saith Christ also (Mat. x.). If God care for our hairs, he much more careth for our souls, which he hath sealed with his Holy Spirit. Therefore, saith Peter (1 Pet. v.): "Cast all your care upon him: for he careth for you." And Paul (1 Cor. x.) saith: "God is true, he will not suffer you to be tempted above your might;" and (Psal. lv.), "Cast thy care upon the Lord." Let thy care be to prepare thyself with all thy strength, for to walk which way he will have thee, and to believe that he will go with thee, and assist thee, and strengthen thee against all tyrants, and deliver thee out of all tribulation: but what way, or by what means he will do it, that commit unto him, and his godly pleasure, and wisdom; and cast that care upon him. And though it seem never so unlikely, or never so impossible unto natural reason, yet believe stedfastly

that he will do it: and then shall he (according to his old use) change the course of the world, even in the twinkling of an eye, and come suddenly upon our giants, as a thief in the night, and compass them in their wiles, and worldly wisdom: when they cry peace, and all is safe, then shall their sorrows begin, as the pangs of a woman that travaileth with child; and then shall he destroy them, and deliver thee, unto the glorious praise of his mercy and truth. Amen.

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*On the Obedience of Subjects to Kings, Princes, and Rulers, at Page 109.*

*After having quoted Romans xiii. from the first to the eleventh Verse, he proceeds:*

As a father over his children is both lord and judge, forbidding one brother to avenge himself on another, but (if any cause of strife be between them) will have it brought unto himself or his assignees, to be judged and corrected: so God forbiddeth all men to avenge themselves, and taketh the authority and office of avenging unto himself, saying, "Vengeance is mine, and I will reward" (Deut. xxxii.); which text Paul alledgeth (Rom. xii.). For it is impossible that a man should be a righteous and equal, or an indifferent judge in his own cause; lusts and appetites so blind us. Moreover, when thou avengest thyself, thou makest not peace, but stirrest up more debate.

God therefore hath given laws unto all nations, and in all lands hath put kings, governors, and rulers in his own stead, to rule the world through them. And hath commanded all causes to be brought before them, as thou readest (Exod. xxii.): "In all causes (saith he) of injury or wrong, whether it be on, ass, sheep, or vesture, or any lost thing which another

challengeth, let the cause of both parties be brought unto the gods; whom the gods condemn, the same shall pay double unto his neighbour." Mark, the judges are called gods in the Scriptures, because they are in God's room, and execute the commandments of God. And in another place of the said chapter, Moses chargeth, saying, "See that thou rail not on the gods, neither speak evil of the ruler of thy people."—"Whosoever therefore resisteth them, resisteth God (for they are in the room of God), and they that resist shall receive the damnation."

Such obedience unto father and mother, master, husband, emperor, king, lords, and rulers, requireth God of all nations, yea, of the very Turks and infidels. The blessing and reward of them that keep them, is the life of this world, as thou readest (Levit. xviii.); "keep my ordinances and laws; which if a man keep he shall live therein." Which text Paul rehearsoth (Rom. x.), proving thereby, that the righteousness of the law is but worldly, and the reward thereof is the life of this world. And the curse of them that break them, is the loss of this life: as thou seest by the punishment appointed for them.

And whosoever keepeth the law (whether it be for fear, for vain glory, or profit), though no man reward him, yet shall God bless him abundantly, and send him worldly prosperity, as thou readest (Deut. xxviii.). What good blessings accompany the keeping of the law, and as we see, the Turks far exceed us Christian men in worldly prosperity for their just keeping of their temporal laws. Likewise, though no man punish the breakers of the law, yet shall God send his curses upon them, till they be utterly brought to nought, as thou readest most terribly even in the same place.

Neither may the inferior person avenge himself upon the superior, or violently resist him for whatsoever

wrong it be. If he do, he is condemned in the deed doing; inasmuch as he taketh upon him that which belongeth to God only; which saith: "Vengeance is mine, and I will reward." (Deut. xxxii.) And Christ saith (Mat. xxvi.): "All they that take the sword shall perish with the sword." Takest thou a sword to avenge thyself? so givest thou not room unto God to avenge thee, but robbest him of his most high honour, in that thou wilt not let him be judge over thee.

If any man might have avenged himself upon his superior, that might David most righteously have done upon king Saul, which so wrongfully persecuted David, even for no other cause, than that God had anointed him king, and promised him the kingdom. Yet when God had delivered Saul into the hands of David, that he might have done what he would with him, as thou seest (1 Sam. xxiv.) how Saul came into the cave where David was, and David came to him secretly, and cut off a piece of his garment. And as soon as he had done it his heart smote him, because he had done so much unto his lord, and when his men encouraged him to slay him, he answered; The Lord forbid it me, that I should lay mine hand on him: Neither suffered he his men to hurt him. When Saul was gone out, David followed and shewed him the piece of his garment, and said; "Why believest thou the words of men that say, David goeth about to do thee harm; perceive and see that there is neither evil nor wickedness in my hand, and that I have not trespassed against thee, and yet thou layest await for my life. God judge between thee and me, and avenge me of thee, but mine hand be not upon thee, as the old proverb saith (said David); out of the wicked shall wickedness proceed: but mine hand be not upon thee (meaning that God ever punisheth one wicked by another). And again

(said David), God be judge, and judge between thee and me, and behold and plead my cause, and give me judgment or right of thee."

And in the xxvi. chapter of the same book, when Saul persecuted David again, David came to Saul by night, as he slept, and all his men; and took away his spear and a cup of water from his head. Then said Abishai, David's servant, "God hath delivered thee thine enemy into thine hand this day, let me now therefore nail him to the ground with my spear, and give him but even one stripe and no more." David forbid him, saying, "Kill him not. For who (said he) shall lay hands on the Lord's anointed, and be not guilty? The Lord liveth, or by the Lord's life (said he), he dieth not, except the Lord smite him, or that his day be come to die, or else go to battle, and there perish."

Why did not David slay Saul, seeing he was so wicked, not in persecuting David only, but in disobeying God's commandments, and in that he had slain eighty-five of God's priests wrongfully? Verily, for it was not lawful. For if he had done it, he must have sinned against God. For God hath made the king in every realm judge over all, and over him is there no judge. He that judgeth the king, judgeth God; and he that layeth hands on the king, layeth hands on God; and he that resisteth the king, resisteth God, and damneth God's law and ordinance. If the subjects sin, they must be brought to the king's judgment. If the king sin, he must be reserved unto the judgment, wrath, and vengeance of God. And as it is to resist the king, so is it to resist his officer, which is set, or sent to execute the king's commandments.

And David (2 Sam. i.) commanded the young man to be slain, which brought unto him the crown and bracelet of Saul, and said, to please David withal,



that he himself had slain Saul. And David (2 Sam. iv.) commanded those two to be slain which brought unto him the head of Ishbosheth, Saul's son, by whose means yet the whole kingdom returned unto David, according unto the promise of God.

And (Luke, xiii.) when they shewed Christ of the Galileans, whose blood Pilate mingled with their own sacrifice; he answered: "Suppose ye that these Galileans were sinners above all other Galileans, because they suffered such punishment? I tell you nay: but except ye repent ye shall likewise perish." This was told Christ, no doubt, of such an intent as they asked him (Mat. xxii.), whether it were lawful to give tribute unto Cæsar? For they thought that it was no sin to resist an heathen prince: as few of us would think (if we were under the Turk) that it were sin to rise against him, and to rid ourselves from under his dominion, so sore have our bishops robbed us of the true doctrine of Christ. But Christ condemned their deeds, and also the secret thoughts of all others, that consented thereto, saying; "Except ye repent ye shall likewise perish." As who should say, I know that ye are within in your hearts, such as they were outwardly in their deeds, and are under the same damnation: except therefore ye repent betimes, ye shall break out at the last into like deeds, and likewise perish, as it came afterward to pass.

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*From the same Chapter, at Page 112.*

God requireth the law to be kept of all men, let them keep it for whatsoever purpose they will. Will they not keep the law: so vouchsafeth he not, that they enjoy this temporal life. Now are there three natures of men; one altogether beastly, which in no wise receive the law in their hearts, but rise against

## 6 THE FATHERS OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH.

princes and rulers, whensoever they are able to make their parties good. These are signified by them that worshipped the golden calf. For Moses brake the tables of the law ere he came at them.

The second are not so beastly, but receive the law, and unto them the law cometh: but they look not Moses in the face. For his countenance is too bright for them, that is, they understand not that the law is spiritual, and requireth the heart. They look on the pleasure, profit, and promotion, that followeth the keeping of the law; and in respect of the reward keep they the law outwardly with works, but not in the heart. For if they might obtain like honour, glory, promotion, and dignity, and also avoid all inconveniences, if they broke the law, so would they also break the law, and follow their lusts.

The third are spiritual, and look Moses in the open face, and are (as Paul saith, Rom. ii.) "a law unto themselves," and have the law written in their hearts by the Spirit of God. These need neither of king nor officers to drive them, neither that any man proffer them any reward for to keep the law: for they do it naturally.

The first work for fear of the sword only. The second for reward. The third work for love freely. They look on the exceeding mercy, love, and kindness, which God hath shewed them in Christ, and therefore love again and work freely. Heaven they take of the free gift of God through Christ's deservings, and hope without all manner of doubting, that God, according to his promise, will in this world also defend them, and do all things for them of his goodness and for Christ's sake, and not for any goodness that is in them. They consent unto the law, that it is holy and just, and that all men ought to do whatsoever God commandeth for no other cause, but because God commandeth it. And their great sorrow

is, because that there is no strength in their members, to do that which their heart lusteth to do, and is athirst to do.

These of the last sort keep the law of their own accord, and that in the heart, and have professed perpetual war against the lusts and appetites of the flesh, till they be utterly subdued: yet not through their own strength, but knowing and acknowledging their weakness, cry ever for strength to God, which hath promised assistance unto all that call upon him. These follow God and are led of his Spirit. The other two are led of lusts and appetites.

Lusts and appetites are divers, and many, and that in one man; yea, and one lust contrary to another, and the greatest lust carrieth a man altogether away with him. We are also changed from one lust unto another. Otherwise, are we disposed, when we are children; otherwise, when we are young men; and otherwise, when we are old; otherwise, over evening; and otherwise, in the morning: yea, sometimes altered six times in an hour. How fortuneth all this? Because that the will of man followeth the wit, and is subject unto the wit; and as the wit erreth, so doth the will, and as the wit is in captivity, so is the will; neither is it possible that the will should be free, where the wit is in bondage.

That thou mayst perceive and feel the thing in thine heart, and not be a vain sophister, disputing about words without perceiving, mark this. The root of all evil, the greatest damnation, and most terrible wrath and vengeance of God that we are in, is natural blindness. We are all out of the right way, every man his ways: one judgeth this best, another that to be best. Now is worldly wit nothing else but craft and subtlety to obtain that which we judge falsely to be best. As I err in my wit, so err I in my will. When I judge that to be evil, which

indeed is good, then hate I that which is good. And when I suppose that good, which is evil indeed, then love I evil. As if I be persuaded and borne in hand, that my most friend is mine enemy, then hate I my best friend : and if I be brought in belief, that my most enemy is my friend, then love I my most enemy. Now when we say, every man hath his free will, to do what him lusteth, I say verily, that men do what they lust. Notwithstanding, to follow lusts is not freedom, but captivity and bondage. If God open any man's wits, to make him feel in his heart, that lusts and appetites are damnable, and give him power to hate and resist them ; then is he free, even with the freedom wherewith Christ maketh free, and hath power to do the will of God.

Thou mayst hereby perceive, that all that is done in the world (before the Spirit of God come and giveth us light), is damnable sin ; and the more glorious, the more damnable, so that that which the world counteth most glorious, is more damnable in the sight of God, than that which the whore, the thief, and the murderer do. With blind reasons of worldly wisdom mayst thou change the minds of youth, and make them give themselves to what thou wilt, either for fear, for praise, or for profit, and yet dost but change them from one vice to another. As the persuasions of her friends made Lucretia chaste. Lucretia believed, if she were a good housewife, and chaste, that she should be most glorious, and that all the world would give her honour, and praise her. She sought her own glory in her chastity, and not God's. When she had lost her chastity, then counted she herself most abominable in the sight of all men, and for very pain and thought which she had, not that she had displeased God, but that she had lost her honour, slew herself. Look, how great her pain and sorrow was for the loss of her chastity, so great was

her glory and rejoicing therein, and so much despised she them, that were otherwise, and pitied them not. Which pride God more abhorreth, than the whoredom of any whore. Of like pride are all the moral virtues of Aristotle, Plato, and Socrates, and all the doctrine of the philosophers, the very gods of our school men.

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*From the Chapter on the Duty of Kings and Rulers,  
at Page 132.*

God anointed his Son Jesus with the Holy Ghost, and therefore called him Christ, which is as much as to say, anointed. Outwardly he disguised him not, but made him like other men, and sent him into the world, to bless us, and to offer himself for us, a sacrifice of a sweet savour; to kill the stench of our sins, that God henceforth should smell them no more, nor think on them any more: and to make full and sufficient satisfaction or amends for all them that repent, believing the truth of God, and submitting themselves unto his ordinances, both for their sins that they do, have done, and shall do. For sin we through frailty never so oft, yet as soon as we repent, and come into the right way again, and unto the testament, which God hath made in Christ's blood, our sins vanish away as smoke in wind, and as darkness at the coming of light, or as thou cast a little blood or milk into the main sea. Insomuch, that whosoever goeth about to make satisfaction for his sins to Godward, saying in his heart, this much have I sinned, this much will I do again; or, this will I live to make amends withal, or, this will I do to get heaven withal; the same is an infidel, faithless and damned in his deed doing, and hath lost his part in Christ's blood: because he is disobedient unto God's testament, and

promise that God hath made unto us in Christ. The washing preacheth unto us, that we are cleansed with Christ's blood-shedding, which was an offering and a satisfaction for the sin of all that repent and believe, consenting and submitting themselves unto the will of God. The plunging into the water signifieth that we die, and are buried with Christ, as concerning the old life of sin, which is *Adam*. And the pulling out again, signifieth that we rise again with Christ in a new life, full of the Holy Ghost, which shall teach us and guide us, and work the will of God in us, as thou seest (Rom. vi.).

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*On Repentance, from Page 146, in the Section on Penance.*

Repentance goeth before faith, and prepareth the way to Christ, and to the promises. For Christ cometh not, but unto them that see their sins in the law, and repent. Repentance, that is to say, this mourning and sorrow of the heart, lasteth all our lives long. For we find ourselves all our lives long too weak for God's law, and therefore sorrow and mourn, longing for strength. Repentance is no sacrament, as faith, hope, love, and knowledge of a man's sins are not to be called sacraments. For they are spiritual and invisible. Now must a sacrament be an outward sign, that may be seen, to signify, to represent, and to put a man in remembrance of some spiritual promise, which cannot be seen but by faith only. Repentance, and all the good deeds which accompany repentance, to slay the lusts of the flesh, are signified by baptism. For Paul saith (Rom. vi. as it is above rehearsed); "Remember ye not (saith he) that all we which are baptised in the name of Christ Jesus, are baptised to die with him?" We are buried

with him in baptism for to die, that is, to kill the lusts and the rebellion which remaineth in the flesh. And after that he saith, "Ye are dead, as concerning sin, but live unto God, through Jesus Christ our Lord." If thou look on the profession of our hearts, and on the Spirit and forgiveness, which we have received through Christ's merits, we are full dead: but if thou look on the rebellion of the flesh, we do but begin to die and to be baptised, that is, to drown and quench the lusts, and are full baptised at the last minute of death. And as concerning the working of the Spirit we begin to live, and grow every day more and more, both in knowledge and also in godly living, according as the lusts abate. As a child receiveth the full soul at the first day, yet groweth daily in the operations and works thereof.

### *Of Confession.*

*Confession* is divers. One followeth true faith inseparably: and is the confessing and acknowledging with the mouth, wherein we put our trust and confidence. As when we say our creed: confessing that we trust in God the Father Almighty, and in his truth and promises; and in his Son Jesus our Lord, and in his merits and deservings; and in the Holy Ghost, and in his power, assistance, and guiding. This confession is necessary unto all men, that will be saved. For Christ saith (Mat: x.): "He that denieth me before men, him will I deny before my Father that is in heaven." And of this confession, saith the holy Apostle Paul in the x. chapter of his Epistle to the Romans: "The belief of the heart justifieth; and to acknowledge with the mouth maketh a man safe." This is a wonderful text for our philosophers, or rather sophisters, our worldly wise enemies to the wisdom of God, our deep and profound well

without water, our clouds without moisture of rain, that is to say, natural souls without the Spirit of God, and feeling of godly things. To justify, and to make safe, are both one thing : and to confess with the mouth is a good work, and the fruit of a true faith, as all other works are.

If thou repent and believe the promises, then God's truth justifieth thee, that is, forgiveth thee thy sins, and sealeth thee with his holy Spirit, and maketh thee heir of everlasting life through Christ's deservings. Now if thou have true faith, so seest thou the exceeding and infinite love, and mercy which God hath shewed thee freely in Christ : then must thou needs love again : and love cannot but compel thee to work, and boldly to confess and acknowledge thy Lord Christ, and the trust which thou hast in his word. And this knowledge maketh thee safe, that is, declareth that thou art safe already, certifieth thine heart, and maketh thee feel that thy faith is right, and that God's Spirit is in thee, as all other good works do. For if when it cometh unto the point, thou hast no lust to work, nor power to confess, how couldst thou presume to think that God's Spirit were in thee ?

Another confession is there, which goeth before faith, and accompanieth repentance. For whosoever repenteth, doth acknowledge his sins in his heart. And whosoever doth acknowledge his sins, receiveth forgiveness (as saith 1 John, i.), " If we acknowledge our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness ; " that is, because he hath promised, he must for his truth's sake do it. This confession is necessary all our lives long, as is repentance. And as thou understandest of repentance, so understand of this confession, for it is likewise included in the sacrament of baptism, For we always repent, and always acknowledge, or



confess our sins unto God, and yet despair not : but remember that we are washed in Christ's blood, which thing our baptism doth represent, and signify unto us.

*From Page 177.*

When the friars say, they do more than their duty, when they preach, and more than they are bound to; to say our service are we bound (say they), and that is our duty, and to preach is more than we are bound to. Set thou before thee, how that Christ's blood shedding hath bound us to love one another with all our might, and to do the uttermost of our power one to another. And Paul saith (1 Cor. ix.) ; " Woe be unto me, if I preach not : " yea, woe is unto him that hath wherewith to help his neighbour, and to make him better, and do it not. If they think it more than their duty to preach Christ unto you, then they think it more than their duty to pray, that ye should come to the knowledge of Christ. And therefore it is no marvel though they take so great labour : yea, and so great wages also to keep you still in darkness,

And when they cry furiously ; hold the heretics unto the wall, and if they will not revoke, burn them without any more ado ; reason not with them, it is an article condemned by the fathers, Set thou before thee the saying of 1 Pet. iii. : " To all that ask you, be ready to give an answer of the hope that is in you, and that with meekness." The fathers of the Jews and the bishops, which had as great authority over them, as ours have over us, condemned Christ and his doctrine. If it be enough to say, the fathers have condemned it, then are the Jews to be holden excused : yea, they are yet in the right way, and we in the false. But and if the Jews be bound to look in the Scripture, and to see whether their fathers have done right or wrong, then are we like-

wise bound to look in the Scripture, whether our fathers have done right or wrong, and ought to believe nothing without a reason of the Scripture, and authority of God's word.

And of this manner defend thyself against all manner of wickedness of our spirits, armed alway with God's word, and with a strong and stedfast faith thereunto. Without God's word do nothing. And to his word add nothing, neither pull any thing therefrom, as Moses every where teacheth thee. Serve God in the Spirit, and thy neighbour with all outward service. Serve God, as he hath appointed thee, and not with thy good intent and good zeal. Remember; Saul was cast away of God for ever, for his good intent. God requireth obedience unto his word, and abhorreth all good intents and good zeals, which are without God's word. For they are nothing else than plain idolatry, and worshipping of false gods.

And remember, that Christ is the end of all things. He only is our resting place, and he is our peace (Eph. ii.). For as there is no salvation in any other name, so is there no peace in any other name. Thou shalt never have rest in thy soul, neither shall the worm of conscience ever cease to gnaw thine heart, till thou come at Christ: till thou hear the glad tidings, how that God for his sake hath forgiven thee all freely. If thou trust in thy works, there is no rest. Thou shalt think, I have not done enough. Have I done it with so great love, as I should do? Was I so glad in doing, as I would be to receive help at my need? I have left this or that undone, and such like. If thou trust in confession, then shalt thou think; have I told all? Have I told all the circumstances? Did I repent enough? Had I as great sorrow in my repentance for my sins, as I had pleasure in doing them? Likewise, in our holy

pardons and pilgrimages, gettest thou no rest. For thou seest that the very gods themselves which sell their pardon so good cheap, or some while give them freely for glory sake, trust not therein themselves. They build colleges and make perpetuities to be prayed for, for ever, and lade the lips of their bead-men or chaplains with so many masses, and dirges, and so long service, that I have known some that have bid the devil take their founders' souls, for very impatience, and weariness of so painful labour.

As pertaining to good deeds therefore, do the best thou canst, and desire God to give strength to do better daily; but in Christ put thy trust, and in the pardon and promises, that God hath made thee for his sake, and on that rock build thine house, and there dwell. For there only shalt thou be sure from all storms and tempests, and from all wily assaults of our wicked spirits, which study with all falsehood to undermine us. And the God of all mercy give thee grace so to do, unto whom be glory for ever. Amen.

## PROLOGUE

To an EXPOSITION upon the v. vi. vii. Chapters  
of ST. MATTHEW,

*Which three Chapters are the Key and the Door of  
the Scripture, and the restoring again of Moses'  
Law corrupted by the Scribes and Pharisees. And  
the Exposition is the restoring again of Christ's  
Law, corrupted by the Papists.—At Page 184.*

HERE hast thou, dear reader, an exposition upon the v. vi. and vii. chapters of Matthew, wherein Christ, our spiritual Isaac, diggeth again the wells of Abraham: which wells the Scribes and Pharisees, those wicked and spiteful Philistines, had stopped and filled up with the earth of their false expositions. He openeth the kingdom of heaven, which they had shut up, that other men should not enter, as they themselves had no lust to go in. He restoreth the key of knowledge, which they had taken away, and broken the wards with wresting the text contrary to its due and natural course, with their false glosses. He plucketh away from the face of Moses, the vail which the Scribes and Pharisees had spread thereon, that no man might perceive the brightness of his countenance. He weedeth out the thorns and bushes of their Pharisaical glosses, wherewith they had stopped up the narrow way and strait gate, that few could find them.

The wells of Abraham are the Scripture. And the Scripture may well be called the kingdom of heaven, which is eternal life, and nothing save the knowledge of God the Father and of his Son Jesus Christ. (John, xvii.) Moses' face is the law in her right understanding, and the law in her right understanding is the key, or at the least way, the first and principal key

to open the door of the Scripture. And the law is the very way that bringeth unto the door Christ, as it is written (Gal. iii.): "The law was our school-master to bring us to Christ, that we might be justified by faith." And (Rom. x.), "The end of the law;" that is to say, the thing or cause why the law was given, "is Christ to justify all that believe." That is to say: the law was given to prove us unrighteous, and to drive us to Christ, to be made righteous through forgiveness of sin by him. "The law was given to make the sin known," saith St. Paul (Rom. iv.), and "that sin committed under the law might be the more sinful." (Rom. vii.) The law is that thing, which Paul in his inward man granted to be good; but was yet compelled oft times of his members to do those things which that good law condemned for evil. (Rom. vii.) The law maketh no man to love the law, or less to do, or commit sin; but gendereth more lust (Rom. vii.), and increaseth sin. (Rom. v.) For I cannot but hate the law, inasmuch as I find no power to do it, and it nevertheless condemneth me, because I do it not. The law setteth not at one with God, but causeth wrath. (Rom. iii.)

"The law was given by Moses, but grace and verity by Jesus Christ." (John, i.) Behold though Moses gave the law, yet he gave no man grace to do it, or to understand it aright, or wrote it in any man's heart, to consent that it was good, and to wish after power to fulfil it. But Christ giveth grace to do it, and to understand it aright, and writeth it with his Holy Spirit in the tables of the hearts of men, and maketh it a true thing there, and none hypocrisy.

The law truly understood, is those fiery serpents that stung the children of Israel with present death: but Christ is the brazen serpent, on whom whosoever, being stung with conscience of sin, looketh

with a sure faith, is healed immediately of that stinging, and saved from the pains and sorrows of hell.

It is one thing to condemn and pronounce the sentence of death, and to sting the conscience with fear of everlasting pain. And it is another thing to justify from sin; that is to say, to forgive and remit sin, and to heal the conscience, and certify a man, not only that he is delivered from eternal death, but also that he is made the son of God, and heir of everlasting life. The first is the office of the law. The second pertaineth unto Christ only through faith.

Now if thou give the law a false gloss, and say; that the law is a thing which a man may do of his own strength, even out of the power of his free will; and that by the deeds of the law thou mayst deserve forgiveness of thy fore sins. Then died Christ in vain (Gal. ii.), and is made almost of no stead, seeing thou art become thine own saviour. Neither can Christ (where that gloss is admitted) be otherwise taken or esteemed of Christian men (for all his passion and promises made to us in his blood), than he is of the Turks: how that he was an holy prophet, and that he prayeth for us; as other saints do: save that we Christians think that he is somewhat more in favour than other saints be (though we imagine him so proud that he will not hear us, but through his mild mother and other holy saints; which all we count much more meek and merciful than he, but him most of might), and that he hath also an higher place in heaven, as the grey friars and observants set him; as it were, from the chin upward above St. Francis.

And so when by this false interpretation of the law, Christ which is the door, the way, and the ground or foundation of all the Scripture, is lost concerning the chieftest fruit of his passion, and no

more seen in his own likeness: then is the Scripture locked up, and henceforth extreme darkness and amaze, wherein if thou walk, thou wottest neither where thou art, nor canst find any way out. It is a confused chaos, and a mingling of all things together without order, every thing contrary to another. It is an hedge or grove of briers, wherein if thou be caught, it is impossible to get out, but that if thou loose thyself in one place, thou art tangled and caught in another for it.

This wise was the Scripture locked up of the Scribes and Pharisees, that the Jews could not see Christ when he came, nor yet can. And though Christ with these three chapters did open it again: yet by such glosses, for our unthankfulness sake, that we had no lust to live according; have we Christians lost Christ again, and the understanding of the most clear text, wherewith Christ expoundeth and restoreth the law again.

For the hypocrites whatsoever seemeth impossible to their corrupt nature unrenewed in Christ, that they cover over with the mist of their glosses, that the light thereof should not be seen. As they have interpreted here the words of Christ, wherewith he restoreth the law again, to be but good counsels only, but no precepts that bind the consciences.

And thereto they have so ruffled and tangled the temporal and spiritual regiment together, and made thereof such confusion, that no man can know the one from the other: to the intent that they would seem to have both by the authority of Christ, which never usurped temporal regiment unto him.

Notwithstanding, most dear reader, if thou read this exposition with a good heart only to know the truth for the amending chiefly of thine own living, and then of other men's (as charity requireth, where an occasion is given), then shalt thou perceive their

falsehood, and see their mist expelled with the brightness of the inevitable truth.

Another conclusion is this: all the good promises which are made us throughout all the Scripture for Christ's sake, for his love, his passion or suffering, his blood-shedding or death, all are made us on this condition and covenant on our party, that we henceforth love the law of God, to walk therein and to do it, and fashion our lives thereafter. Insomuch, that whosoever hath not the law of God written in his heart, that he love it, have his lust in it, and record therein night and day, understanding it as God hath given it, and as Christ and the Apostles expound it: the same hath no part in the promises, or can have any true faith in the blood of Christ: because there is no promise made him, but to them only that promise to keep the law.

Thou wilt haply say to me again: if I cannot have my sins forgiven except I love the law, and of love endeavour myself to keep it: then the keeping of the law justifieth me. I answer that the argument is false, and but blind sophistry, and like unto this argument: I cannot have forgiveness of my sin except I have sinned, therefore to have sinned, is the forgiveness of sin.

And like sophistry are these arguments: if thou wilt enter into life keep the commandments (Mat. xix.): therefore the deeds of the law justify us. Item, the hearers of the law are not righteous in the sight of God, but the doers of the law shall be justified. (Rom. ii.) Therefore the deeds of the law justify from sin. And again; "We must all stand before the judgment-seat of Christ, to receive every man according to the deeds, which he did in the body:" therefore the law or the deeds of the law justify.

These and all such are naughty arguments. For



ye see that the king pardoneth no murderer, but on a condition, that he henceforth keep the law, and do no more so, and yet ye know well enough that he is saved by grace, favour, and pardon, ere the keeping of the law come. Howbeit, if he break the law afterward, he falleth again into the same danger of death.

Even so, none of us can be received to grace, but upon a condition to keep the law, neither yet continue any longer in grace, than that purpose lasteth. And if we break the law, we must sue for a new pardon; and have a new fight against sin, hell, and desperation, ere we can come to a quiet faith again, and feel that the sin is forgiven. Neither can there be in thee a stable and an undoubted faith, that thy sin is forgiven thee, except there be also a lusty courage in thine heart, and a trust that thou wilt sin no more, for on that condition that thou endeavour thyself to sin no more, is the promise of mercy and forgiveness made unto thee.

And as thy love to the law increaseth, so doth thy faith in Christ, and so doth thine hope and longing for the life to come. And as thy love is cold, so is thy faith weak, and thy hope and longing for life to come, little. And where no love to the law is, there is neither faith in Christ for the forgiveness of sin, nor longing for the life to come: but instead of faith, a wicked imagination, that God is so unrighteous that he is not offended with sin: and instead of hope, a desire to live ever here, and a greediness of worldly voluptuousness.

And unto all such is the Scripture locked up, and made impossible to understand. They may read it and rehearse the stories thereof, and dispute of it, as the Turks may, and as we may of the Turks' law. And they may suck pride, hypocrisy, and all manner of poison thereout to slay their own souls, and to

put stumbling-blocks in other men's ways, to thrust them from the truth; and get such learning therein, as in Aristotle's Ethics and Moral Philosophy, and in the precepts of old philosophers. But it is impossible for them to apply one sentence thereof to their soul's health, for to fashion their lives thereby for to please God, or to make them love the law, or understand it, either to feel the power of Christ's death, and might of his resurrection and sweetness of the life to come. So that they ever remain carnal and fleshly, as thou hast an ensample of the Scribes, Pharisees, and Jews, in the New Testament.

Another conclusion is this: of them that believe in Christ for the remission of sin, and love the law, are a thousand degrees and not so few, one perfecter or weaker than another: of which a great sort are so feeble that they can neither go forward in their profession and purpose, nor yet stand, except they be help and borne of their stronger brethren, and tended as young children are by the care of their fathers and mothers. And therefore doth God command the elder to care for the younger. As Paul teacheth (Rom. xv.), saying: "We that be stronger, ought to bear the feebleness of the weaker." And (Gal. vi.); "Brethren, if any man be caught in any fault, ye that be spiritual (and are grown in knowledge, and have gotten the victory of your flesh) teach such with the spirit of softness," not calling them heretics at the first chop, and threatening them with fire and fagots: "but bear each others burden, and so shall ye fulfil the law of Christ." Even so verily shall ye fulfil the law of Christ, and not with smiting your brethren, and putting stumbling-blocks before their weak feet, and killing their consciences, and making them more afraid of shadows and bugs, than to break their Father's commandments, and to trust in words of wind and vanity, more than in their

**Father's promise.** And for their sakes also, he hath ordered rulers, both spiritual and temporal, to teach them and exhort them, to warn them, and to keep occasions from them, that with custom of sin they fall not from their profession.

Now when they that take upon them to be the elder brethren, are become hypocrites, and turned to wily foxes, and cruel wolves, and fierce lions; and the officers be waxen evil, and servants to mammon, ministering their offices for their own lucre only, and not for the profit of their brethren, but favouring all vices, whereby they may have an advantage. Then is God compelled of his fatherly pity, to scourge his weak ones himself, with poverty, oppression, wrong, loss, danger, and with a thousand manner of diseases, to bring them again, if they be fallen; and to keep their hearts fast to their profession. So that (Rom. viii.) they that love God, that is to say, the law of God (for that is to love God); unto them God turneth all to the best, and scourgeth them with the lusts of their own weakness, to their own salvation.

Another conclusion is this: God receiveth both perfect and weak in like grace for Christ's sake, as a father receiveth all his children, both small and great, in like love. He receiveth them to be his sons, and maketh a covenant with them, to bear their weakness for Christ's sake, till they be waxen stronger; and how often soever they fall, yet to forgive them if they will turn again, and never to cast off any, till he yield himself to sin, and take sin's part, and for affection and lust to sin, fight against his own profession to destroy it. And he correcteth and chastiseth his children ever at home with the rod of mercy and love, to make them better; but he bringeth them not forth to be judged after the condemnation of the law.

Another conclusion is this : every man is two men, flesh and spirit : which so fight perpetually one against another, that a man must go either back or forward, and cannot stand long in one state. If the Spirit overcome the temptation ; then is she stronger, and the flesh weaker. But and if the flesh get a custom, then is the Spirit, none otherwise oppressed of the flesh, than as though she had a mountain upon her back. And as we sometime in our dreams think we bear heavier than a millstone on our breasts ; or when we dream, now and then, that we would run away for fear, our legs seem heavier than lead ; even so is the Spirit oppressed and overladen of the flesh through custom, that she strugglcth and striveth to get up, and to break loose, in vain ; until the God of mercy, which heareth her groan through Jesus Christ, come and loose her with his power, and put his cross of tribulation on the back of the flesh to keep her down, to diminish her strength, and to mortify her.

Wherefore every man must have his cross to nail his flesh to, for the mortifying of her. Now if thou be not strong enough and discreet thereto, to take up thy cross thyself, and to tame thy flesh, with prayer and fasting, watching, deeds of mercy, holy meditations, reading the Scripture, and with bodily labour ; and in withdrawing all manner of pleasures from the flesh, and with exercises contrary to the vices, which thou markest thy body most inclined to, and with abstaining from all that encourage the flesh against the Spirit ; as reading of wanton books, wanton communication, foolish jesting, effeminate thoughts, and talking of covetousness, which Paul forbiddeth (Eph. v.), and magnifying of worldly promotions ; and takest, I say, up such a cross by thine own self, or by the counsel of others that are better learned and exercised than thou ; then must

God put his cross of adversity upon thee. For we must have every man his cross in this world, or be damned with the world.

Of this ye see the difference between the sin of them that believe in the blood of Christ for the remission of sin, and consent and submit themselves unto the law; and the sin of them that yield themselves unto sin to serve it, &c. The first sin under grace, and their sins are venial; that is to say, forgiveable. The other sin under the law, and under the damnation of the law, and fight (for a great part of them) against grace, and against the Spirit of grace, and against the law of God, and faith of Christ, and corrupt the text of the covenant with false glosses, and are disobedient to God, and therefore sin deadly.

Of this also ye see the difference between the lambs of true believers, and between the unclean swine that follow carnal lusts and fleshly liberty, and the churlish and hypocritical dogs, which for the blind zeal of their own righteousness, persecute the righteousness of the faith in Christ's blood. The effeminate and careless swine, which continue in their fleshliness, and cease not to wallow themselves in their old puddle, think that they believe very well in Christ's blood, but they are deceived (as thou mayst clearly perceive), because they fear not the damnation of evil works, nor love the law of good works, and therefore have no part in the promise.

The cruel and doggish hypocrites, which take upon them to work, think they love the law, which yet they never saw, save under a vail. But they be deceived (as thou mayst perceive), by that they believe not in Christ for the forgiveness of sin. Whereby also (I mean that they believe not), thou mayst perceive that they understand not the law. For if they

understood the law, it would either drive them to Christ, or make them despair immediately.

But the true believers behold the law in her own likeness, and see the impossibility thereof to be fulfilled with natural power, and therefore flee to Christ for mercy, grace, and power: and then of a very thankfulness for the mercy received, love the law in her own likeness, and submit themselves to learn it, and to profit therein, and to do to-morrow that they cannot do to-day.

Ye see also the difference of all manner of faiths. The faith of true believers is, that God justifieth, or forgiveth, and Christ deserveth it, and the faith or trust in Christ's blood receiveth it, and certifieth the conscience thereof, and saveth and delivereth her from fear of death and damnation. And this is that we mean when we say, faith justifieth: that faith (I mean in Christ and not in our own works) certifieth the conscience that our sins are forgiven us for Christ's blood sake. But the faith of hypocrites is, that God forgiveth, and works deserve it. And that same false faith in their own works receiveth the mercy promised to the merits of their own works: and so Christ is utterly excluded.

And thus ye see that faith is the thing, that is affirmed to justify, of all parties. For faith in Christ's blood (which is God's promise) quieteth the consciences of true believers. And a false faith or trust in works (which is their own feigning), beguileth the blind hypocrites for a season, till God for the greatness of their sin, when it is full, openeth their eyes, and then they despair. But the swine say; God is so good, that he will save devils and all, and damn no man perpetually, whatsoever he do.

Another conclusion is this; to believe in Christ for the remission of sins, and of a thankfulness for that mercy, to love the law truly: that is to say, to

love God that is Father of all, and giveth all; and Jesus Christ, that is Lord of us all; and bought us all with all our hearts, souls, power, and might; and our brethren for our Father's sake (because they be created after his image), and for our Lord and Master Christ's sake, because they be the price of his blood: and to long for the life to come, because this life cannot be led without sin. These three points, I say, are the profession and religion of a Christian man, and the inward baptism of the heart, signified by the outward washing of the body. And they are that spiritual character, badge, or sign, wherewith God through his Spirit marketh all his immediately, and as soon as they be joined to Christ, and made members of his church by true faith.

The church of Christ then, is the multitude of all them that believe in Christ for the remission of sin, and of a thankfulness for that mercy, love the law of God purely and without glosses, and of hate they have to the sin of this world, long for the life to come. This is the church that cannot err damnably, nor any long time, nor all of them: but as soon as any question ariseth, the truth of God's promise stirreth up one or other, to teach them the truth of every thing needful to salvation out of God's word, and lighteneth the hearts of the other true members, to see the same, and to consent thereto.

And as all they that have their hearts washed with this inward baptism of the Spirit, are of the church and have the keys of the Scripture, yea; and of binding and loosing, and do not err: even so they, that sin of purpose, and will not hear when their faults be told them, but seek liberties and privileges to sin unpunished, and gloss out the law of God, and maintain ceremonies, traditions, and customs, to destroy the faith of Christ: the same are members of Satan, and all their doctrine is poison, error, and darkness;

yea, though they be popes, bishops, abbots, curates, and doctors of divinity ; and though they can rehearse all the Scripture without book, and though they be seen in Greek, Hebrew, and Latin : yea, and though they so preach Christ, and the passion of Christ, that they make the poor women weep and howl again. For when they come to the point, that they should minister Christ's passion unto the salvation of our souls ; there they poison all together, and gloss out the law, that should make us feel our salvation in Christ, and drive us in that point from Christ, and teach us to put our trust in our own works, for the remission and satisfaction of our sins, and in the apish play of hypocrites, which sell their merits, instead of Christ's blood and passion.

Lo now, dear reader, to believe in Christ's blood for the remission of sins, and purchasing of all the good promises, that help to the life to come : and to love the law, and to long for the life to come, is the inward baptism of the soul, the baptism that only availeth in the sight of God : the new generation and image of Christ, the only key also to bind and loose sinners : the touchstone, to try all doctrines, the lantern and light that scatter and expel the mist and darkness of all hypocrisy, and a preservative against all error and heresy : the mother of all good works : the earnest of everlasting life, and title whereby we challenge our inheritance.

And though faith in Christ's blood make the marriage between our soul and Christ, and is properly the marriage garment, yea, and the sign *Thau* (Ezek. ix.) that defendeth us from the smiting and power of the evil angels, and is also the rock whereon Christ's church is built, and whereon all that is built, standeth against all weather of wind and tempests : yet might the profession of the faith in Christ's blood, and of the love to the law, and longing for the life



to come, be called all these things, were malice and froward understanding away : because that where one of them is, there are all three ; and where all are not, there are none of them.

And because that the one is known by the other, and it is impossible to know any of them truly, and not be deceived, but in respect and comparison of the other ; if thou wilt be sure that thy faith be perfect, then examine thyself whether thou love the law : and in like manner, if thou wilt know whether thou love the law aright, then examine thyself whether thou believe in Christ only, for the remission of sin, and obtaining the promises made in the Scripture. And even so compare the hope of thy life to come unto faith and love, and to hating the sin of this life : which hate, the love to the law engendereth in thee. And if they accompany not one another, all three together, then be sure, that all is but hypocrisy.

If you say ; seeing faith, love, and hope be three virtues inseparable ; therefore faith only justifieth not. I answer ; though they be inseparable, yet they have separable and sundry offices, as it is above said of the law and faith. Faith only, which is a sure and an undoubted trust in Christ, and in the Father through him, certifieth the conscience that the sin is forgiven, and the damnation and impossibility of the law taken away (as it is above rehearsed in the conditions of the covenant). And with such persuasions mollifieth the heart and maketh her love God again, and his law.

And as oft as we sin, faith only keepeth, that we forsake not our profession, and that love utterly quench not, and hope fail, and only maketh the peace again. For a true believer trusteth in Christ only, and not in his own works, or aught else, for the remission of sin.

And the office of love is to pour out again the same goodness that she hath received of God, upon her neighbour, and to be to him, as she feeleth Christ to herself. The office of love only is to have compassion, and to bear with her neighbour the burden of his infirmities. And as it is written (1 Pet. iv.): "covereth the multitude of sins." That is to say; considereth the infirmities, and interpreteth all to the best, and taketh for no sin at all, a thousand things, of which the least were enough (if a man loved to go to law), for to trouble and unquiet an whole town, and sometimes an whole realm or two.

And the office of hope is to comfort in adversity, and make patient, that we faint not and fall down under the cross, or cast it off our backs. And thus ye see, that these three, inseparable in this life, have yet separable and sundry offices and effects, as heat and dryness being inseparable in the fire, have yet their separable operations. For the dryness only expelleth the moistness of all that is consumed by fire, and heat only destroyeth the coldness. For dryness and cold may stand together, and so may heat and moistness. It is not all one to say, the dryness only, and the dryness that is alone: nor all one to say, faith only, and faith that is alone.

Go to then, and desire God to print this profession in thine heart, and to increase it daily more and more, that thou mayst be full shapen, like unto the image of Christ in knowledge and love, and meek thyself, and creep low by the ground, and cleave fast to the rock of this profession, and tie to thy ship this anchor of faith in Christ's blood, with the cable of love, to cast it out, against all tempests: and so set up thy sail, and get thee to the main sea of God's word. And read here the words of Christ with this exposition following, and thou shalt see the law, faith, and works restored each to their right use, and

true meaning. And thereto the clear difference between the spiritual regiment, and the temporal ; and shalt have an entrance and open way into the rest of all the Scripture, wherein, and in all other things the spirit of verity guide thee, and thine understanding. Amen.

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*The following Extracts are taken from the Exposition, which follows the foregoing Prologue, at Page 188.*

Mat. v. 1, 2, 3.

*“ When he saw the people, he went up into a mountain, and sat him down, and his disciples came to him, and he opened his mouth, and taught them, saying: Blessed be the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.”*

Christ here in his first sermon beginneth to restore the law of the ten commandments unto her right understanding, against the Scribes and Pharisees, which were hypocrites, false prophets, and false preachers, and had corrupted the Scripture with the leaven of their glosses. And it is not without a great mystery, that Christ beginneth his preaching at poverty in spirit, which is neither beggary, nor against the possessing of riches ; but a virtue contrary to the vice of covetousness, the inordinate desire and love of riches, and putting trust in riches.

Riches are the gift of God given man, to maintain the degrees of this world, and therefore not evil : yea, and some must be poor, and some rich, if we shall have an order in this world. And God our Father divideth riches and poverty among his children according to his godly pleasure and wisdom. And as riches do not exclude thee from the blessing, so doth not poverty certify thee : but to put thy

trust in the living God maketh thee heir thereof. For if thou trust in the living God; then, if thou be poor, thou covetest not to be rich, for thou art certified that thy Father shall minister unto thee food and raiment, and be thy defender: and if thou have riches, thou knowest that they are but vanity, and that as thou broughtest them not into the world, so shalt thou not carry them out: and that as they be thine to-day, so may they be another man's to-morrow, and that the favour of God only, both gave and also keepeth thee and them, and not thy wisdom or power: and that they, neither aught else, can help at need, save the good will of thy heavenly Father only. Happy and blessed then are the poor in spirit: that is to say the rich, that have not their confidence nor consolation in the vanity of their riches: and the poor, that desire not inordinately to be rich, but have their trust in the living God for food and raiment, and for all that pertaineth either to the body or the soul: "for theirs is the kingdom of heaven."

And contrariwise, unhappy and accursed, and that with the first and deepest of all curses, are the rich in spirit: that is to say, the covetous, that being rich, trust in their riches, or being poor, long for the consolation of riches, and comfort not their souls with the promises of their heavenly Father, confirmed with the blood of their Lord Christ. For unto them "it is harder to enter into the kingdom of heaven, than for a camel to enter through the eye of a needle." (Mark, x.) No, they have no part in the kingdom of Christ, and God. (Eph. v.) Therefore is it evident, why Christ so diligently warneth all his to beware of covetousness, and why he admitteth none to be his disciples, except they first forsake all together. For there was never covetous person true yet, either to God or man.

If a covetous man be chosen to preach God's word, he is a false prophet immediately. If he be of the lay sort, so joineth he himself unto the false prophets, to persecute the truth. Covetousness is not only above all other lusts, those thorns that choke the word of God in them, that possess it : but it is also a deadly enemy to all that interpret God's word truly. All other vices, though they laugh them to scorn, that talk godly ; yet they can suffer them to live and to dwell in the country. But covetousness cannot rest, as long as there is one that cleaveth to God's word in all the land.

Take heed to thy preacher therefore : and be sure, if he be covetous and gape for promotion, that he is a false prophet, and leaveneth the Scripture ; for all his crying, " Fathers, fathers ; holy church ; and fifteen hundred years ;" and for all his other holy pretences.

Ver. 4. *" Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted."*

This mourning is also in the Spirit, and no kin to the sour looking of hypocrites, nor to the impatient waywardness of those fleshly ones which ever whine and complain that the world is naught, because they cannot obtain and enjoy their lust therein. Neither forbiddeth it always, to be merry and to laugh, and make good cheer now and then, to forget sorrow, that overmuch heaviness swallow not to a man clean up. For the wise man saith : " Sorrow hath cost many their lives."

And (Prov. xvii.), " An heavy spirit drieth up the bones." And Paul commandeth (Philip. iv.) to " rejoice ever." And (Rom. xii.) he saith : " Rejoice with them that rejoice, and sorrow with them that sorrow, and weep with them that weep," which seem two contraries.

This mourning is that cross, without which was never any disciple of Christ, or ever shall be. For of whatsoever state or degree thou be in this world, if thou profess the Gospel, there followeth thee a cross (as warmth accompanieth the sun's shining), under which thy spirit shall groan and mourn secretly, not only because the world and thine own flesh carry thee away, clean contrary to the purpose of thine heart; but also to see and behold the wretchedness and misfortunes of thy brethren: for which (because thou lovest them as well as thyself) thou shalt mourn and sorrow no less than for thyself. Though thou be king or emperor, yet if thou knowest Christ, and God through Christ, and intendest to walk in the sight of God, and to minister thine office truly, thou shalt (to keep justice withal) be compelled to do daily that, which thou art no less loth to do, than if thou shouldst cut off arm, hand, or any other member of thine own body: yea, and if thou wilt follow the right way, and neither turn on the right hand nor on the left, thou shalt have immediately thine own subjects, thine own servants, thine own lords, thine own counsellors, and thine own prophets thereto against thee. Unto whose froward malice and stubbornness, thou shalt be compelled to permit a thousand things against thy conscience, and not able to resist them; at which thine heart shall bleed inwardly, and shalt sauce thy sweet sops, which the world weeneth thou hast, with sorrows enough; and still mourning, studying either alone, or else with a few friends secretly night and day, and sighing to God for help, to mitigate the furious frowardness of them, whom thou art not able to withstand, that all go not after the will of the ungodly. What was David compelled to suffer all the days of his life, of his own servants, the sons of Zeruiah, besides the mischances of his own children? And how was our

king John forsaken of his own lords, when he would have put a good and godly reformation in his own land? How was Henry the Second compassed in like manner of his own prelates, whom he had promoted of nought, with the secret conspiracy of some of his own temporal lords with them? I spare to speak of the mourning of the true preachers, and the poor common people, which have none other help, but the secret hand of God, and the word of his promise.

But they shall be comforted of all their tribulation, and their sorrow shall be turned into joy, and that infinite and everlasting in the life to come. Neither are they without comfort here in this world: for Christ hath promised to send them "a Comforter to be with them for ever, the Spirit of truth, which the world knoweth not." (John, xiv.) "And they rejoice in hope" (of the comfort to come). (Rom. xii.)

And they overcame through faith, as it is written (Heb. xi.): "The saints through faith overcame kingdoms, and obtained the promises." And (1 John, v.): "This is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith." But the blind world, neither seeth our comfort, nor our trust in God, nor how God, through his faith his word, helpeth us and maketh us overcome.

How overcame they (wilt thou say), that be always persecuted, and ever slain? verily in every battle some of them, that win the field, be slain: yet they leave the victory unto their dear friends, for whose sakes they took the fight upon them, and therefore are conquerors, seeing they obtain their purpose, and maintain that they fought for. The cursed rich of this world, which have their joy and comfort in their riches, have since the beginning fought against them, to weed them out of the world. But yet in vain. For though they have always slain some, yet those that were slain, won the victory for

their brethren with death, and ever increased the number of them. And though they seemed to die in the sight of the foolish, yet they are in peace, and have obtained that everlasting kingdom for which they fought. And besides all this, when God plagued the world for their sin, these that mourn and sorrow are marked with the sign of *Thau* in their foreheads, and saved from the plague, that they perish not with the wicked, as thou seest (*Ezek. ix.*) ; and as *Lot* was delivered from among the *Sodomites*.

And contrariwise, cursed are they that laugh now, that is to say, which have their joy, solace, and comfort in their riches : for they shall sorrow and weep. (*Luke, vi.*) And as it was answered the rich man (*Luke, xvi.*) : “ Son, remember how that thou receivedst thy good days in thy lifetime, and *Lazarus* likewise evil, and therefore is he comforted and thou tormented.”

*From the same Chapter, at Page 193.*

Ver. 8. “ *Blessed be the pure in heart, for they shall see God.*”

“ That which entereth into a man defileth not a man. But the things that defile a man proceed first out of his heart,” as thou mayst see *Mat. xv.* : “ thence come out evil thoughts (saith Christ), as murder, adultery, fornication, theft, false witnessings, and blasphemies. These are the things that make a man foul.” A man then is not foul in the sight of God, till his heart be foul. And the filthiness of the heart are thoughts that study to break God’s commandments. Wherefore the pureness of the heart is the consenting and studious purpose to keep the law of God, and to mean truly in all thy words and works, and to do them with a true intent.

It followeth then, that thou mayst be pure-hearted,



and therewith do all that God hath commanded, or not forbidden. Thou mayst be pure-hearted, and have a wife and get children; be a judge and condemn to death them that have deserved it; hang or behead evil doers, after they are by a just process condemned. Thou mayst be pure-hearted, and do all the drudge in the world. Lot was pure-hearted among the Sodomites. Nicodemus, being in the council among them that conspired the death of Christ, was pure-hearted, and consented not with them to the death of that Innocent.

If the law is written in thine heart, it will drive thee to Christ, which "is the end of the law to justify all that believe." (Rom. x.) And Christ will shew thee his Father. "For no man seeth the Father but the Son, and he to whom the Son will shew him." (Luke, x.) If thou believe in Christ, that he is thy Saviour: that faith will lead thee in immediately, and shew thee God with a lovely and amiable countenance, and make thee feel, and see how that he is thy Father, altogether merciful to thee, and at one with thee, and thou his son, and highly in his favour and grace, and sure that thou pleasest him, when thou dost a hundred things, which some holy people would suppose themselves defiled, if they should but think on them. And to see God is the blessing of a pure heart.

Impure and unclean hearted then are all they, that study to break God's commandments. Impure-hearted are all that believe not in Christ to be justified by him. Impure-hearted are all hypocrites, that do their works for a false purpose: either for praise, profit, or to be justified thereby; which painted sepulchres (as Christ calleth them) can never see God, or be sure that they are in the state of grace, and that their works are accepted, because

they have not God's word with them, but clean against them.

Ver. 9. "*Blessed are the peace-makers, for they shall be called the children of God.*"

To inherit this blessing, it is not only required that thou have peace in thyself, and that thou take all to the best, and be not offended lightly; and for every small trifle, and alway ready to forgive, nor sow no discord, nor avenge thine own wrong: but also that thou be fervent, and diligent to make peace, and to go between, where thou knowest or hearest malice and envy to be, or seest hate or strife to arise between person and person, and that thou leave nothing unsought, to set them at one.

And though Christ here speak not of the temporal sword, but teacheth how every man shall live for himself toward his neighbour: yet princes (if they will be God's children) must not only give no cause of war, nor begin any, but also (though he have a just cause) suffer himself to be entreated, if he that gave the cause, repent; and must also seek all ways of peace, before he fight. Howbeit, when all is sought, and nothing will help, then he ought, and is bound to defend his land and subjects, and in so doing he is a peace-maker, as well as when he caused thieves and murderers to be punished for their evil-doing, and breaking of the common peace of his land and subjects.

If thou have peace in thyself, and lovest the peace of thy brethren after this manner, so is God through Christ at peace with thee, and thou his beloved son and heir also.

Moreover, if the wrong done thee be greater than thou mayst bear: as when thou art a person not for thyself only; but in respect of others, in whatsoever worldly degree it is, and hast an office committed thee:

then (when thou hast warned with all good manner him, that did it, and none amendment will be had) keep peace in thine heart, and love him still, and complain to them that are set to reform such things, and so art thou yet a peace-maker and still the son of God. But if thou avenge thyself, or desirest more than that such wrongs are forbidden, thou sinnest against God, in taking the authority of God upon thee, without his commandment. God is Father over all, and is (of right) judge over all his children, and to him only pertaineth all avenging; who therefore without his commandment, avengeth either with heart or hand, the same doth cast himself into the hands of the sword, and loseth the right of his cause.

And on the other side, cursed be the peace-breakers, pick-quarrels, whisperers, backbiters, sowers of discord, dispraisers of them that be good, to bring them out of favour, interpreters to evil that is done for a good purpose, finders of faults where none are, stirrers up of princes to battle and war; and above all, cursed are they that falsely belie the true preachers of God's word, to bring them into hate, and to shed their blood wrongfully for hate of the truth. For all such are children of the devil.

Ver. 10. *“Blessed are they that suffer persecution for righteousness sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.”*

If the faith of Christ and law of God, in which two all righteousness is contained, are written in thine heart: that is, if thou believe in Christ to be justified from sin, or for remission of sin, and consentest in thine heart to the law, that it is good, holy, and just, and thy duty to do it, and submittest thyself so to do, and thereupon goest forth, and testifiest that faith and law of righteousness openly unto the world

in word and deed ; then will Satan stir up his members against thee, and thou shalt be persecuted on every side. But be of good comfort and faint not. Call to mind the saying of Paul (2 Tim. iii.) ; how “ all that will live godly in Christ Jesu, shall suffer persecution.” Remember, how all the prophets that went before thee, were so dealt with (Luke, vi.). Remember, the examples of the Apostles, and of Christ himself, and that the disciple is no better than his master, and that Christ admitteth no disciple which not only leaveth not all, but also taketh his cross too. We are not called to a soft living, and to peace in this world ; but unto peace of conscience in God our Father, through Jesus Christ, and to war in this world.

Moreover, comfort thyself with the hope of the blessing of the inheritance of heaven, there to be glorified with Christ, if thou here suffer with him. For if we are like Christ here in his passions, and bear his image in soul and body, and fight manfully that Satan blot it not out, and suffer with Christ, for bearing record to righteousness : then shall we be like him in glory. (1 John, iii.) “ Yet appeareth not what we shall be. But we know, that when he appeareth, we shall be like him.” And Paul (Phil. iii.), “ Our conversation is in heaven, whence we look for a Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ, which shall change our vile bodies, and make them like his glorious body.”

It is a happy thing to suffer for righteousness sake, but not for unrighteousness. “ For what praise is it (saith 1 Peter, ii.), though ye suffer, when ye are buffeted for your offences ?” Wherefore, in the iv. of the same, he saith : “ See that none of you suffer as a murderer, or a thief, or an evil doer, or a busy body in other men’s matters.” Such suffering glorifieth not God, nor art thou thereby heir of heaven.

Beware therefore that thou deserve not that thou sufferest. But if thou do : then beware much more of them, that would bear thee in hand, how that such suffering should be satisfaction of thy sins, and a deserving of heaven. No, suffering for righteousness (though heaven be promised thereto), yet doth it not deserve heaven, nor yet make satisfaction for the fore-sins : Christ doth both twain. But and if thou repent and believe in Christ for the remission of sin, and then confess, not only before God, but also open before all, that see thee suffer, how that thou hast deserved that thou sufferest, for breaking the good and righteous law of thy Father, and then takest thy punishment patiently, as an wholesome medicine to heal thy flesh, that it sin no more, and to fear thy brethren that they fall not into like offence, as Moses teacheth every where : then as thy patience in suffering is pleasant in the sight of thy brethren, which behold thee, pity thee, and suffer with thee in their hearts ; even so is it in the sight of God, and it is to thee a sure token, that thou hast true faith and true repentance.

And as they are blessed, which suffer for righteousness : even so are they accursed, which run away, and let it be trodden under the feet, and will not suffer for the faith of their Lord, and law of their Father, nor stand by their neighbours in their just causes.

Ver. 11, 12. *“ Blessed are ye, when they revile you, and persecute you, and say all manner of evil sayings against you for my sake, and yet lie. Rejoice and be glad, for your reward is great in heaven. Even so verily they persecuted the prophets that were before you.”*

Here seest thou the uttermost, what a Christian man must look for. It is not enough to suffer for righteousness : but that no bitterness or poison be

left out of thy cup, thou shalt be reviled and railed upon: and even when thou art condemned to death, then be excommunicated and delivered to Satan, deprived of the fellowship of holy church, the company of the angels, and of thy part in Christ's blood, and shalt be cursed down to hell, defied, detested, and execrated with all the blasphemous railings that the poisonous hearts of hypocrites can think or imagine, and shalt see before thy face, when thou goest to thy death, that all the world is persuaded and brought in belief, that thou hast said and done that thou never thoughtest, and that thou diest for that thou art as guiltless of as the child that is unborn.

Well, though iniquity so highly prevail, and the truth, for which thou diest, be so low-kept under, and be not once known before the world, inasmuch that it seemeth rather to be hindered by thy death, than furthered (which is of all griefs the greatest); yet let not thine heart fail thee, neither despair, as though God had forsaken thee, or loved thee not. But comfort thyself with old ensamples, how God hath suffered all his old friends to be so entreated, and also his only and dear Son Jesus; whose ensample above all others, set before thine eyes, because thou art sure he was beloved above all others, that thou doubt not, but thou art beloved also, and so much the more beloved, the more thou art like to the image of his ensample in suffering.

Did not the hypocrites watch him in all his sermons, to trap him in his own words? Was he not subtly opposed, whether it were lawful to pay tribute to Cæsar? Were not all his words wrong reported? Were not his miracles ascribed to Beelzebub? Said they not, he was a Samaritan, and had a devil in him? Was he not called a breaker of the Sabbath, a wine-drinker, a friend of publicans and sinners? Did he aught, wherewith no fault was found, and that was

not interpreted to be done for an evil purpose? Was not the pretence of his death, the destroying of the temple, to bring him into the hate of all men? Was he not thereto accused of treason, that he forbade to pay tribute to Cæsar; and that he moved the people to insurrection? Railed they not on him in the bitterness of all his passion, as he hanged on the cross, saying, "Save thyself, thou that savest others; come down from the cross, and we will believe in thee: fie wretch, that destroyest the temple of God."

Yet he was beloved of God, and so art thou. His cause came to light also, and so shall thine at the last: yea, and thy reward is great in heaven with him, for thy deep suffering.

And on the other side, as they are cursed, which leave righteousness destitute, and will not suffer therewith: so are they most accursed, which know the truth, and yet not only flee therefrom, because they will not suffer: but also for lucre, become the most cruel enemies thereof, and most subtle persecutors, and most falsely lie thereon also.

Finally, though God when he promised to bless our works, do bind us to work, if we will obtain the blessing or promise: yet must we beware of this Pharisaical pestilence, to think that our works did deserve the promises. For whatsoever God commandeth us to do, that is our duty to do, though there were no such promise made to us at all. The promise therefore cometh not of the deserving of the worker (as though God had need of aught, that we could do); but of the pure mercy of God, to make us the more willing to do that is our duty, &c. For if when we had done all that God commandeth us to do, he then gave us up into the hands of tyrants, and killed us, sent us to purgatory (which men so greatly fear), or to hell, and all the angels of heaven with us; he did us no wrong, nor were un-

righteous for aught that we or they could challenge of deserving: howsoever that God useth his creatures, he ever abideth righteous: till thou canst prove that after he hath bound himself with his own word of mercy, he then brake promise with them, that keep covenant with him. So now, if nought were promised, nought could we challenge, whatsoever we did. And therefore the promise cometh of the goodness of the promiser only, and not of the deserving of those works, of which God hath no need, and which were no less our duty to do, though there were no such promise.

*From Page 209.*

Ver. 38—42. “*Ye have heard, how it is said, an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth. But I say unto you, that ye withstand not wrong. But if a man give thee a blow on the right cheek, turn to him the other also. And if any man will go to law with thee and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak thereto. And if any man compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain. Give to him that asketh, and from him that would borrow, turn not away.*”

Christ here intendeth not to disannul the temporal regiment, and to forbid rulers to punish evil-doers, no more than he meant to destroy matrimony, when he forbad to lust, and to covet another man's wife in the heart. But as he there forbad, that which defileth matrimony, even so he forbiddeth here that which troubleth, unquieteth, and destroyeth the temporal regiment, and that thing which (to forbid) the temporal regiment was ordained; which is that no man avenge himself. Christ meddleth not with the temporal regiment. But in all this long sermon fighteth against the Pharisees' false doctrine, and salteth the law, to purge it of the corruption of their



filthy glosses, and to bring it unto the right taste and true understanding again.

For the Pharisees had so interpreted that law of Moses (which pertained only unto the rulers); that every private person might avenge himself, and do his adversary as much harm again, as he had received of him.

Now if he, that is angry, have deserved that men pronounce death upon him, and he, that saith *Raca*, hath deserved that men should gather a council to determine some sundry and cruel death for so heinous a crime; and if he that calleth his brother, fool, have deserved hell: what deserveth he that smiteth, or avengeth himself with his own hand? Here is forbidden therefore private wrath only, and that a man avenge himself.

To "turn the other cheek," is a matter of speaking, and not to be understood as the words sound, as was, to "cut off the hand," and to "pluck out the eye." And as we command our children, not only, not to come nigh a brook or a water, but also not to be so hardy, as once to look that way; either to look on fire, or once to think on fire, which are impossible to be observed: more is spoken than meant, to fear them, and to make them perceive that it is in earnest that we command. Even so is the meaning here, that we in no wise avenge, but be prepared ever to suffer as much more, and never to think it lawful to avenge, how great soever the injury be: for he himself turned not the other cheek, when he was smitten before the bishop, nor yet Paul when he was buffeted before the bishop also. But ye have heard a little above: "Blessed are the meek, for they shall possess the earth." Let all the world study to do thee wrong, yea, let them do thee wrong: and yet, if thou be meek, thou shalt have food and raiment enough for thee and thine.

Ye must understand that there be two states or degrees in this world: the kingdom of heaven, which is the regiment of the Gospel; and the kingdom of this world, which is the temporal regiment. In the first state there is neither father, mother, son, daughter; neither master, mistress, maid, nor man servant: nor husband, nor wife, nor lord, nor subject, nor man, nor woman: but Christ is all, and each to other is Christ himself. There is none better than other, but all like good, all brethren, and Christ only is Lord over all. Neither is there any other thing to do, or other law, save to love one another, as Christ loved us. In the temporal regiment is husband, wife, father, mother, son, daughter, master, mistress, maid, man servant, lord, and subject.

Now is every person a double person, and under both the regiments. In the first regiment, thou art a person for thine own self, under Christ and his doctrine, and mayst neither hate, nor be angry, and much less fight or avenge: but must after the example of Christ, humble thyself, forsake, and deny thyself, and hate thyself, and cast thyself away, and be meek and patient, and let every man go over thee, and tread thee under foot, and do thee wrong: and yet love them, and pray for them, as Christ did for his crucifiers. For love is all, and what is not of love, that is damnable, and cast out of that kingdom.

For that kingdom is the knowledge of God and Christ. But he that loveth not, knoweth neither God nor Christ: therefore he that loveth not, is not of that kingdom. The *minor* is on this wise proved; he, that knoweth God and Christ, seeth light, for Christ is light: but, "he that hateth his brother is in darkness, and walketh in darkness, and wotteth not whither he goeth, [for darkness hath blinded his eyes." (1. John, ii.) Therefore, he that hateth his brother, knoweth not what Christ hath done for him,

and therefore hath no true faith; nor is of the spiritual kingdom of God.

To hate thyself, that shalt thou get, if thou considerest thine own sins, and the deep damnation that belongeth thereto, with due repentance. And to love, that thou shalt obtain, if thou behold the great and infinite mercy of God with strong faith. There is none so great an enemy to thee in this world, but thou shalt lightly love him, if thou look well on the love that God shewed thee in Christ.

In the temporal regiment, thou art a person in respect of others; thou art an husband, father, mother, master, mistress, lord, ruler, or wife, son, daughter, servant, subject, &c. And there thou must do according to thine office. If thou be a father, thou must do the office of a father, and rule. or else thou damnest thyself. Thou must bring all under obedience, whether by fair means or foul. Thou must have obedience of thy wife, of thy servants, and of thy subjects: and the others must obey. If they will not obey with love, thou must chide and fight, as far as the law of God, and the law of the land will suffer thee. And when thou canst not rule them, thou art bound in many cases to deliver them unto the higher officer, of whom thou didst take the charge over them.

Now to our purpose, whether a man may resist violence, and defend or avenge himself. I say, nay, in the first state, where thou art a person for thyself alone, and Christ's disciple. There thou must love, and of love do, study, and enforce: yea, and suffer all things (as Christ did to make peace), that the blessing of God may come upon thee, which saith: "Blessed be the peace-makers, for they shall be the children of God." If thou suffer, and keepest peace in thyself only, thy blessing is, the possession of this world. But if thou so love the peace of thy

brethren, that thou leave nothing undone, or unsuffered, to further it, thy blessing is, thou shalt be God's son, and consequently possess heaven.

But in the worldly state, where thou art no private man, but a person in respect of others, thou not only mayst, but also must, and art bound under pain of damnation, to execute thine office. Where thou art a father, thou must have obedience by fair means, or by foul: and to whom thou art an husband, of her thou must require obedience, and chastity; and to get that, attempt all that the law of the land commandeth and willeth. And of thy servants, thou must exact obedience and fear, and mayst not suffer thyself to be despised. And where thou art a ruler, thereto appointed, thou must take, imprison, and slay too: not of malice and hate, to avenge thyself, but to defend thy subjects, and to maintain thine office.

Concerning thyself, oppress not thy subjects with rent, fines, or custom at all; neither pill them with taxes and such like, to maintain thine own lusts: but be loving and kind to them, as Christ was to thee, for they be his, and the price of his blood. But those that are evil-doers among them, and vex their brethren, and will not know thee for their judge, and fear thy law, them smite, and upon them draw thy sword, and put it not up until thou have done thine office: yet without hate to the person, for his master's sake, and because he is in the first regiment thy brother; but to amend him only, or if it cannot be, but that thou must lose one to save many, then execute thine office with such affection, with such compassion and sorrow of heart, as thou wouldst cut off thine own arm to save the rest of thy body.

Take an example: thou art in thy father's house among thy brethren and sisters. There, if one fight with another, or if any do thee wrong, thou mayst not avenge nor smite: for that pertaineth to thy

father only. But if thy father give thee authority in his absence, and command thee to smite, if they will not be ruled: now thou art another person.: Notwithstanding yet thou hast not put off the first person, but art a brother still, and must ever love, and prove all things to rule with love. But if love will not serve: then thou must use the office of the other person, or sin against thy father. Even so, when thou art a temporal person, thou puttest not off the spiritual. Therefore, thou must ever love. But when love will not help, thou must with love execute the office of the temporal person, or sin against God. A mother can smite and love: and so mayst thou with love execute the office of thy second state. And the wife, son, servant, and subject are brethren in the first state; and put not that person off, by reason of the second degree: and therefore must they love ever, and with love pay custom, tribute, fear, honour, and obedience to whom they belong, as Paul teacheth (Rom. xiii.). And though the other do not his duty, and love thee, but rule thee with rigorousness, and deal unkindly with thee, thou not deserving: yet cleave thou to Christ, and love still, and let not his evil overcome thy goodness, and make thee evil also.

And as after the example above, thy father hath power over thee, to command thee to use his power over thy brethren; even so hath thy master, to give thee his authority over thy fellows. Which when thou hast, thou must remember that thou art a fellow still, and bound to love still. But if love alone will not help, then put thy master's authority unto thy love. And so hath the ruler power over thee, to send thee to use violence upon thy neighbour, to take him, to imprison him, and haply to kill him too. And thou must ever love thy neighbour in thine heart, by the reason that he is thy brother in the first state, and yet obey thy ruler and go with

the constable or like officer, and break open thy neighbour's door, if he will not open it in the king's name: yea, and if he will not yield in the king's name, thou must lay on, and smite him to the ground, till he be subdued. And look, what harm he getteth, yea, though he be slain, that be on his own head. For thine heart loved him, and thou desiredst him lovingly to obey, and hast not avenged thyself in that state where thou art a brother. But in the worldly state, where thou art another manner of person, in this case, thou had executed the authority of him that hath such power of God, to command thee, and where thou were damned of God, if thou didst not obey.

And like is it, if thy lord or prince send thee a warfare into another land, thou must obey at God's commandment, and go, and avenge thy prince's quarrel, which thou knowest not but that it is right. And when thou comest thither, remember what thou art in the first state with them against whom thou must fight, how that they be thy brethren, and as deeply bought with Christ's blood as thou, and for Christ's sake to be beloved in thine heart. And see that thou desire neither their life nor goods, save to avenge thy prince's quarrel, and to bring them under thy prince's power. And be content with thy prince's wages, and with such part of the spoil (when thou hast won), as thy prince, or his deputy, appointeth thee. For if thou hate them in thine heart, and covetest their goods, and art glad that an occasion is found (thou carest not whether it be right or wrong), that thou mayst go a robbing, and murdering, unpunished; then art thou a murderer in the sight of God, and thy blood will be shed again for it, either in the same war following: or when thou art come home (as thou there didst in thine heart), so shalt thou rob and steal, and be hanged for thy labour, or slain by some other mischief.

Now concerning the goods of this world, it is easy to judge. In the first state, or degree, thou oughtest to be thankful to Christ, and to love, to give, and to lend to them that are bought with his precious blood, all that thou art able. For all that thou owest to Christ, whose servant thou art to do his will, that must thou pay them. And that thou dost to them, that same thou dost to Christ, and that thou art not ready to do for them, that deniest thou to do for Christ: But and if any of thy brethren will withhold, or take away by force, above that thou mayst spare, by the reason of some office, that thou hast in the second state, or invade thee violently, and lay more on thy back than thou canst bear: then hold thine heart and hand; that thou neither hate nor smite, and speak fair and lovingly, and let neighbours go between. And when thou hast proved all means of love in vain, then complain to the law, and the officer, that is set to be thy father, and defend thee, and to judge between thee and thy brother.

Thou wilt say, the text forbiddeth me to go to law: for it saith, "If a man will go to law with thee, and take thy coat, thou must let him have gown and all." If I must suffer myself to be robbed by the law, wilt thou say, by what right can I with law recover mine own? I answer: behold the text diligently. For by no right of law can a man take thy coat from thee: for the law was ordained of God, to maintain thee in thy right, and to forbid that wrong should be done thee. Wherefore the text meaneth thus; that where the law is unjustly administered, and the governors and judges corrupt, and take bribes, and be partial; there be patient, and ready to suffer ever as much more, whatsoever unright be done thee; rather than of impatience, thou shouldst avenge thyself on thy neighbour, or rail or make insurrection against the superiors, which God

hath set over thee. For to rise against them is to rebel against God, and against thy father when he scourgeth thee for thine offence, and a thousand times more than sin to avenge thee on thy neighbour. And to rail on them, is to rail on God, as though thou wouldst blaspheme him, if he made thee sick, poor, or of low degree, or otherwise than thou wouldst be made thyself.

Thou wilt haply say: the subjects ever choose the ruler, and make him swear to keep their law, and to maintain their privileges and liberties, and upon that submit themselves unto him: therefore, if he rule amiss they are not bound to obey; but may resist him, and put him down again. I answer, your argument is nought. For the husband sweareth to his wife: yet though he forswear himself, she hath no power to compel him. Also, though a master keep not covenant with his servant, or one neighbour with another: yet hath neither servant, no nor yet neighbour (though he be under none obedience), power to avenge: but the vengeance pertaineth ever to an higher officer, to whom thou must complain.

Yea, but you will say: it is not like. For the whole body of the subjects choose the ruler. Now, *cujus est ligare; ejus est solvere* (whose it is to bind; his it is to loose): therefore, if he rule amiss, they that set him up, may put him down again. I answer: God (and not the common people) chooseth the prince, though he choose him by them. For (Deut. xvi.) God commandeth to choose, and set up officers: and therefore is God the chief chooser, and setter up of them; and so must he be the chief putter down of them again: so that without his special commandment they may not be put down again. Now hath God given no commandment to put them down again: but contrariwise, when we have anointed a king over us at his commandment, he saith: "Touch not mine anointed." And what jeopardy it



is to rise against the prince, that is anointed over thee, how evil soever he be, see in the story of king David, and throughout all the books of the Kings. The authority of the king is the authority of God: and all the subjects compared to the king, are but subjects still (though the king be never so evil), as a thousand sons gathered together are but sons still, and the commandment, Obey your fathers, goeth over all, as well as over one. Even so goeth the commandment over all the subjects: obey your prince, and "the higher power, and he that resisteth him, resisteth God, and getteth him damnation." And unto your argument, *cujus est ligare; ejus est solvere*: I answer: he that bindeth with absolute power, and without any higher authority, his is the might to loose again. But he that bindeth at another man's commandment, may not loose again without the commandment of the same. As they of London choose them a mayor: but may not put him down again, how evil soever he be, without the authority of him, with whose license they chose him. As long as the powers or officers are one under another, if the inferior do thee wrong, complain to the higher. But if the highest of all do thee wrong, thou must complain to God only. Wherefore, the only remedy against evil rulers is, that thou turn thine eyes to thyself, and thine own sin, and then look up to God, and say: O! Father, for our sin, and the sin of our fathers, is this misery come upon us; we know not thee as our Father, to obey thee, and to walk in thy ways, and therefore thou knowest not us as thy sons, to set loving schoolmasters over us. We hate thy law, and therefore hast thou through the wickedness of unrighteous judges, made that law, that was for our defence, to be a tyrant most cruel, and to oppress us, and to do us injury above all other kinds of violence and robbing. And amend thy living, and

be meek and patient, and let them rob as much as they will, yet shall God give thee food and raiment, and an honest possession in the earth, to maintain thee and thine withal.

Moreover, concerning thy goods, thou must remember, how that thou art a person in the temporal regiment, and the king, as he is over thy body, even so is he lord of thy goods, and of him thou holdest them, not for thyself only, but for to maintain thy wife, children, and servants, and to maintain the king, the realm, and the country, and town, or city, where thou dwellest. Wherefore, thou mayst not suffer them to be wasted, so that thou were not able to do thy duty; no more than a servant may suffer his master's goods to go to rack negligently. For he that provideth not for his, and namely for them of his own household, saith Paul, denieth the faith, and is worse than an infidel. But every man is bound to labour diligently and truly, and therewith so soberly to live, that he may have enough for him, and his, and somewhat above, for them that cannot labour, or by chance are fallen into necessity. And of that give, and lend, and look not for it again. And if that suffice not thy neighbour's necessity: then speak, and make labour to thy brethren, to help also. For it is a common proverb, many hands make light work, and many may bear that, which one alone cannot.

And thy wife, thy children, and servants, art thou bound to defend. If any man would force thy wife, thy daughter, or thy maid, it is not enough for thee to look on, and say, God amend you. Nay, thou must execute thine office and authority, which the king giveth thee. And by the way, thou must defend thy master and his goods, and the king's goods, which thou hast to maintain thy wife and household withal, and thy neighbour that goeth with thee, against thieves and murderers. And against all such,

persons lay about thee, and do as thou wouldst do if thou wast under the king's standard against his enemies, which had invaded the realm. For all such persons are mortal enemies to the realm, and seek to put down the king, and law, and all together, and to make that it might be lawful to sin unpunished. And of this manner, if thou mark well the difference of these two states and regiments, thou mayst solve all like doubts that shall be laid against thee.

Moreover, when I say, there be two regiments, the spiritual, and the temporal : even so, I say, that every person baptized to keep the law of God, and to believe in Christ, is under both the regiments, and is both a spiritual person, and also a temporal, and under the officers of both the regiments : so that the king is as deep under the spiritual officer, to hear out of God's word, what he ought to believe, and how to live, and how to rule, as is the poorest beggar in the realm. And even so, the spiritual officer, if he sin against his neighbour, or teach false doctrine, is under the king's, or temporal correction, how high soever he be. And look how damnable it is for the king to withdraw himself from the obedience of the spiritual officer : that is to say, from hearing his duty, to do it, and from hearing his vices rebuked, to amend them : so damnable is it, for the spiritual officer, how high soever he be, to withdraw himself from under the king's correction, if he teach false, or sin against any temporal law.

Finally, ye must consider that Christ here teacheth his disciples, and them that should be the light and salt in living and doctrine, to shine in the weak and feeble eyes of the world, diseased with the megrim, and accustomed to darkness, that without great pain they can behold no light, and to salt their old festered sores, and to fret out the rotten flesh, even to the hard quick, that it smart again, and spare no degree.

But tell all men, high and low, their faults, and warn them of their jeopardy, and exhort them to the right way. Now such schoolmasters shall find small favour and friendship with the rulers of this world, or defence in their laws. As Christ warneth them (Mat. x.) : saying, " I send you out as sheep among wolves. Beware therefore of men, for they shall deliver you up to their councils, and shall scourge you in their synagogues, or council-houses, and ye shall be brought before the chief rulers and kings for my sake ;" and there teacheth them, as here, to arm themselves with patience, and to go forth boldly with a strong faith, and trust in the succour and assistance of God only, and to plant the Gospel with all love and meekness, and to water it with their own blood, as Christ did. Thou mayst not in that state come with a sword, to defend either thyself or thy Gospel, and to compel men to worship thee, as God, and to believe what thou wilt. Nay, ye sheep, use no such regiment among wolves. If thou be a sheep, thou art not in evil taking, if thou canst bring to pass, that the wolf be content with thy fleece only, and to shear thee yearly.

" Give to him that asketh, and from him that would borrow, turn not away." Luke saith ; " Give to whosoever asketh thee : " that is to say, wheresoever thou seest need, or seest not the contrary, but there may be need : to the uttermost of thy power, there open thine heart, and be merciful only. And of mercifulness set God thy Father, and Christ thy Lord and Master for an ensample : and enforce to be as like them, as thou canst. If thou be merciful, God hath bound himself to be merciful to thee again. Lo ! is not this an exceeding great thing, that God, which of no right ought to be bound to his creatures, hath yet put it wholly in thine own hands, to bind him against the day of thy tribulation, then to shew thee mercy ?

Concerning lending, proceed by the aforesaid rule of mercy. Many in extreme need, yet ashamed to beg, shall desire thee to lend. Unto such, instead of lending, give, or say thus, Lo ! here is as much as ye require. If ye can pay it again, well, do, and ye shall find me ready against another time to lend, or give (if need be), as much more. But and if ye shall not be able to pay it again, trouble not your conscience, I give it you ; " we be all one Man's children ! " one Man hath bought us all with his blood, and bound us to help one another. And with so doing, thou shalt win the heart of him to thy Father.

Concerning merchandise and chapmen, the less borrowing were among them, the better should the commonwealth be ; if it were possible, I would it were ; ware for ware, or money for ware, or part money and part ware. But if it will not be, but that a man to get his living with, must needs lend, and call for it again, to find his household, and to pay his debts : then in the lending, be first single and harmless as a dove, and then as wise as a serpent. And take heed to whom thou lendest. If, when thou hast lent an honest man, God visit him, and take away his goods, with what chance it be, whether by sea or land, that he is not able to pay thee : then to imprison him, or to sue him at the law, or once to speak an unkind word, were against the law of love, and contrary to shewing mercy. There thou must suffer with thy neighbour and brother, as Christ did with thee, and as God doth daily. If an unthrift have beguiled thee, and spent thy goods away, and hath not to pay, then hold thine hand and heart, that thou avenge not thyself : but love him, and pray for him, and remember how God hath promised to bless the patient and meek. Nevertheless, because such persons corrupt the common man-

ners, and cause the name of God the less to be feared, men ought to complain upon such persons to the officer that is ordained of God to punish evil-doers, and the officer is bound to punish them. If thou have lent a fox, which with cavillation will keep thy goods from thee: then, if the ruler and the law will not help thee to thy right, do as it is above said of him, that will go to law with thee, and take thy coat from thee. That is to say; be content to lose that, and as much more to it, rather than thou wouldst avenge thyself. Let not the wickedness of other men pluck thee from God. But abide by God and his blessings, and tarry his judgment. Liberality is mercifulness, that bindeth God to be merciful again. Covetousness (the root of all evil, and father of all false prophets, and the schoolmaster that teacheth the messengers of Satan to disguise themselves like to the messengers of Christ) is merciless, that shall have judgment without mercy: and therefore exhorteth Christ all his so diligently, and above all things, to be liberal and beware of covetousness.

Ver. 43—48. *"Ye have heard how it is said, thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy. But I say unto you, love your enemies. Bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you. Pray for them which do you wrong, and persecute you. That ye may be the children of your heavenly Father. For he maketh his sun to arise over the evil, and over the good; and sendeth rain upon the righteous and unrighteous. For if ye love them that love you, what reward shall ye have? Do not the publicans so? And if ye be friendly to your brethren only, what singular thing do ye? Do not the publicans likewise? Ye shall therefore be perfect, as your Father, which is in heaven, is perfect."*

This text of hating a man's enemy, standeth not in any one place of the Bible, but is gathered of

many places, in which God commandeth the children of Israel to destroy their enemies, the Canaanites, the Amorites, the Amalekites, and other heathen people, as the Moabites, and Ammonites, which sought to bring them out of the favour of God, and to destroy the name of God. The Amalekites came behind them, and slew all that were faint and weary by the way, as they came out of Egypt. The Moabites and Ammonites hired Balaam to curse them, and beguiled them with their women, and made a great plague among them. These, and like nations were perpetual enemies to their land, which God had given them, and also of the name of God, and of their faith. For which cause they not only might lawfully, but were also bound to hate them, and to study their destruction again: howbeit, they might not yet hate (of the said nations) such as were converted to their faith.

Now, by the reason of such texts, as commanded to hate the common enemies of their country, and of God and his law, and of their faith: the Pharisees' doctrine was, that a man might lawfully hate all his private enemies without exception, nor was bound to do them good. And yet Moses saith, "Thou shalt not hate thy brother in thine heart." And again, "Thou shalt not avenge thyself, nor bear hate in thy mind against the children of thy people. And if thine enemy's ass sink under his burden, help him to lift it up again. And if his ox or ass go astray, bring them home again." Which all, no doubt, the Pharisees did interpret for good counsel, but for no precepts; wherefore Christ salteth their doctrine, and proveth that a man is bound both to love, and to do good to his enemy; and as a natural son, though his brethren be never so evil. Yet to love them, and shew them kindness, for his Father's sake, and to study to amend

them. What hast thou to rejoyce of, if thy religion be no better than the religion of thieves? For thieves love among themselves: and so do the covetous of the world, as the usurers and publicans, which bought in great the emperor's tribute, and to make their most advantage, did overset their people. Nay, it is not enough for thee to love thy benefactors only, as monks and friars do, and them of thine own coat and order, or the brethren of thine own abbey only (for among some, their love stretcheth no further, and that shall he, that is removed out of another cloister thither, find: yea, and in some places, charity reacheth not to all the cells of the same cloister, and to all the monks, that were *professed* in the same place). But lift up thine eyes unto thy heavenly Father, and as thy Father doth, so do thou love all thy Father's children. He ministreth sun and rain to good and bad, by which two, understand all his benefits. For of the heat and dryness of the sun, and cold and moisture of the rain, spring all things that are necessary to the life of man. Even so, provoke thou and draw thine evil brethren to goodness, with patience, with love in word and deed, and pray for them to him, that is able to make them better, and to convert them. And so thou shalt be thy Father's natural son, and perfect, as he is perfect. The text saith not, ye shall be as perfect as God: but perfect, after his example. To be perfect, in the Scripture, is not to be a monk or a friar, or never to sin. For Christ teacheth not here monks or friars, but his disciples, and every Christian man and woman. And to be in this life altogether without sin, is impossible. But to be perfect, is to have pure doctrine without false opinions, and that thine heart be to follow that learning.



*From the Exposition of Mat. vi. at Page 224.*

Ver. 14, 15. "*For if ye forgive men their faults, your heavenly Father shall forgive you also: But and if ye do not forgive men their faults, no more shall your Father forgive your faults.*"

This is God's covenant with us, and a confirmation of the petition above rehearsed in the *Pater noster* (Lord's Prayer): "forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive our trespassers." If thou wilt enter into the covenant of thy Lord God, and forgive thy brother; then whatsoever thou hast committed against God, if thou repent, and ask him forgiveness, thou art sure that thou art so absolved by these words, that none in heaven nor earth can bind thee: no, though our most holy father curse thee as black as coals, seven feet under the earth, and seven feet above, and cast all his lightning upon thee, to burn thee to powder. Keep the covenant of the Lord thy God therefore, and fear no bugs. But and if thou wilt not come within the covenant of God, or, if when thou hast professed it, and received the sign thereof, thou cast the yoke of the Lord from off thy neck: be thou sure, thou art bound by these words so fast, that none in heaven nor in earth can loose thee. No, though our earthish god whisper all his absolutions over thee, and claw thee, and stroke thine head with all his sweet blessings.

Furthermore, though forgiveness of thy sins be annexed to thy work, and forgiving thy brother: yet do not (as I said) thy works justify thee before God. But the faith in Christ's blood, and in the promises made to us for his sake, doth bring righteousness into the heart. And the righteousness of the heart by faith, is felt and known by the work. As Peter (1 Pet. ii.) commandeth to do good works, for to

make our vocation and election sure : that we might feel our faith, and be certified that it is right. For except a man be proved and tried, it cannot be known, neither to himself nor other men, that he is righteous and in the true faith. Take an example, lest thou be beguiled with sophistry : Christ saith (Mat. xiii.), "The kingdom of heaven is like leaven, which a woman taketh, and hideth in three pecks of meal, till all be leavened, or sour." Leaven is sometimes taken in an evil sense for the doctrine of the Pharisees, which corrupted the sweetness of the word of God with the leaven of their glosses : and sometimes in a good sense, for the kingdom of heaven, that is to say, the Gospel, and glad tidings of Christ. For as leaven altereth the nature of dough, and maketh it thorough sour : even so, the Gospel turneth a man into a new life, and altereth him a little and a little : first the heart and then the members.

Faith in Christ first certifieth the conscience of the forgiveness of sins, and delivereth us from the fear of everlasting damnation ; and then bringeth the love of God and of his law into the heart, which love is the righteousness of the heart. Love bringeth good works into the members, which works are the outward righteousness, and the righteousness of the members. To hate the will of God, is the unrighteousness of the heart, and causeth evil works, which are the unrighteousness of the members. As when I hated my brother, my tongue spake evil, my hands smote, and so forth. To love, is the righteousness of the heart, and causeth good works, which are the righteousness of the members. As if I love my brother, and he have need of me, and be in poverty, love will make me put mine hand into my purse, or almonry, and to give him somewhat to refresh him, &c. That the love of God and of his

commandments, is the righteousness of the heart; doth no man doubt, save he that is heartless. And that love springeth of faith, thou mayst evidently see 1 John, ii. : "He that loveth his brother, dwelleth in the light. But he that hateth his brother, is in darkness, and walketh in darkness, and wotteth not whither he goeth, for darkness hath blinded his eyes." Why is he that hateth, in darkness? Verily, because he seeth not the love of God in Christ. For if he saw that, he could not but love his brother, for so kind a Father's sake. If any man hate his brother, be thou sure, that the same man is in darkness, and hath not the light of true faith, nor seeth what Christ hath done. If a man so love, that he can forgive his brother, assure thyself that he is in the light of the true faith, and seeth what mercy is shewed him in Christ.

This is then the sum of all together : works are the outward righteousness before the world, and may be called the righteousness of the members, and spring of inward love. Love is the righteousness of the heart, and springeth of faith. Faith is the trust in Christ's blood, and is the gift of God (Eph. ii.) : whereunto a man is drawn of the goodness of God, and driven through true knowledge of the law, and of beholding his deeds in the lust and desire of the members unto the request of the law, and with seeing his own damnation in the glass of the law. For if a man saw his own damnation in the law, he should immediately hate God and his works, and utterly despair, except God offered him Christ, and forgave all that were past, and made him his son, and took the damnation of the law away, and promised that if he would submit himself to learn, and to do his best, that should be accepted as well as an angel in heaven ; and thereto if he fell of frailty, and not of malice and stubbornness, it should be forgiven upon

amendment, and that God would ever take him for his son, and only chastise him at home, when he did amiss, after the most fatherly manner, and as easily as his disease would suffer, but never bring him forth to be judged after the rigorousness of the law. And as thou couldst not see leaven, though thou breakest up a loaf, except thou smellest, or tastest the sourness, even so couldst thou never see true faith or love, except thou sawest works : and also sawest the intent and meaning of the worker, lest hypocrisy deceive thee.

Our deeds are the effect of righteousness, and thereto an outward testimony and certifying of the inward righteousness, as sourness is of leaven. And when I say, faith justifieth, the understanding is, that faith receiveth the justifying. God promiseth to forgive us our sins, and to impute us for full righteous. And God justifieth us actively : that is to say, forgiveth us, and reckoneth us for full righteous. And Christ's blood deserveth it, and faith in the promise receiveth it, and certifieth the conscience thereof. Faith challengeth it for Christ's sake, which hath deserved all that is promised, and cleaveth ever to the promise, and truth of the promiser, and pretendeth not the goodness of her work, but acknowledgeth, that our works deserve it not, but are crowned, and rewarded with the deservings of Christ. Take an ensample of young children, when the father promiseth them a good thing for the doing of some trifle, and when they come for their reward, delayeth with them, saying : What; that thou hast done is not worth half so much : should I give thee so great a thing for so little a trifle ? They will answer : ye did promise me : ye said, I should have it : why did ye promise, and why then did ye say so ? And let him say what he will to drive them off, they will ever say again : ye did promise

me, so ye did: ye said, I should have it, so ye did. But hirelings will pretend their work, and say: I have deserved it: I have done so much, and so much, and my labour is worth it.

Now, at the first covenant making with God, and as oft as we be reconciled after we have sinned, the righteousness cometh of God altogether. But after the atonement is made, and we reconciled, then we be partly righteous in ourselves, and unrighteous, righteous as far as we love, and unrighteous, as far as the love is imperfect. And faith in the promise of God, that he doth reckon us for full righteous, doth ever supply the unrighteousness and imperfectness, as it is our whole righteousness at the beginning.

Finally, our works, which God commandeth, and unto which he annexed his promises that he will reward them, are as it were very sacraments, and visible and sensible signs, tokens, earnest obligations, witnesses, testimonies, and a sure certifying of our souls, that God hath and will do according to his promise, to strengthen our weak faith, and to keep the promise in mind. But they justify us not, no more than the visible works of the sacraments do. As for an example, the work of baptism, that outward washing, which is the visible sacrament or sign, justifieth us not. But God only justifieth us actively, as cause efficient or workman. God promiseth to justify whosoever is baptized to believe in Christ, and to keep the law of God, that is to say, to forgive them their fore-sins, and to impute righteousness unto them, to take them for his sons, and to love them as well as though they were full righteous. Christ hath deserved us that promise, and that righteousness. And faith doth receive it, and God doth give it, and impute it to faith, and not to the washing. And the washing doth testify it, and certify us of it, as the pope's letters do certify the believers of the pope's

pardons. Now the letters help not or hinder, but that the pardons were as good without them, save only to establish weak souls that could not believe, except they read the letters, looked on the seal, and saw the print of St. Peter's keys.

O! a merciful God, and a most loving Father, how careth he for us: first, above all, and beside all his other benefits, to give us his own Son Jesus, and with him to give us himself and all: and not content therewith, but to give us so many sacraments, or visible signs, to provoke us, and to help our weak faith, and to keep his mercy in mind: as baptism, the sacrament of his body and blood, and as many other sacraments as they will have, if they put significations to them (for we destroy none, but they destroy, which have put out the significations, or feigned some without); as wedlock, to signify that Christ is the husband, and we his wife and partakers with him, as the wife with her husband of all his riches, &c. And beyond all those visible sacraments, to give us yet more sensible and sure sacraments, and assurances of his goodness, even in our own selves: as if we love and give alms to our neighbour, if we have compassion and pray for him, if we be merciful and forgive him; if we deny ourselves, and fast and withdraw all pleasures from the flesh for love of the life to come: and to keep the commandments of God. For when such things, being before impossible, now are easy and natural, we feel, and are sure that we are altered, and of a new creature, shapen in righteousness after the image of Christ and God our Father, seeing his laws of righteousness are written in our hearts.

*From the Exposition of the same Chapter, at  
Page 232.*

Ver. 24. "No man can serve two masters, for he shall either hate the one, and love the other, or cleave to the one, and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and mammon."

Mammon is riches or abundance of goods. And Christ concludeth with a plain similitude, that, as it is impossible to serve two contrary masters, and as it is impossible to be retained unto two divers lords, which are enemies one to the other, so it is impossible to serve God and mammon. Two masters of one mind, and one will, might a man serve: for if one will, one mind, and one accord be in twenty, then are they all but one master. And two masters, where one is under the other and a substitute, may a man serve. For the service of the inferior is the commandment of the superior. As to serve and obey father, mother, husband, master, and lord, is God's commandment. But and if the inferior be of a contrary will to the superior, and command any contrary thing, then mayst thou not obey. For now they be two contrary masters. So God and mammon are two contrary masters: yea, two contrary Gods, and of contrary commandments.

God saith, I, thy Lord God, am but one, and one shalt thou serve alone: that is, thou shalt love me with all thine heart, or with thine whole heart, with all thy soul and with all thy might. Thou shalt neither serve, obey, or love any thing save me, and that I bid thee: and that as far and no further than I bid thee.

And mammon saith the same. For mammon will be a god also, and served and loved alone.

God saith, see thou love thy neighbour, that thou labour with thine hands to get thy living, and somewhat above to help him.

Mammon saith, he is called thy neighbour, because he is nigh thee. Now who is so nigh thee as thyself? Therefore, *proximus esto tibi*; that is, love thyself, and make lewd and vile wretches to labour diligently to get thee as much, as thou mayst, and some scraps above for themselves. Or wilt thou be perfect? Then disguise thyself, and put on a grey coat, a black, or a pied, and give thyself to devotion, despise the world, and take a covetous (I would say a contemplative) life upon thee. Tell the people how hot purgatory is, and what pains there must be suffered for small faults. And then give mercifully a thousand fold for one, spiritual for temporal: give heaven, and take but house and land, and foolish temporal things.

God saith, judge truly between thy brethren, and therefore take no gifts.

Mammon saith, it is good manners, and a point of courtesy, to take that is offered. And he that giveth thee, loveth thee better than such a churl that giveth thee nought, yea, and thou art more bound to favour his cause.

God saith, sell, and give alms.

Mammon saith, lay up, to have enough to maintain thine estate, and to defend thee from thine enemies, and to serve thee in thine age, &c.

Forasmuch then as God and mammon be two so contrary masters, that whosoever will serve God must give up mammon, and all, that will serve mammon, must forsake God: it followeth that they which are the sworn servants of mammon, and have his holy spirit, and are his faithful church, are not the true servants of God, nor have his Spirit of truth in them, or can be his true church.

Moreover, seeing that God and mammon be so contrary, that God's word is death in mammon's ear, and his doctrine poison in mammon's mouth: it fol-



loweth, that if the ministers of God's word do favour mammon, they will so fashion their speech, and so sound their words, that they may be pleasant in the ears of mammon.

Finally, only to have riches, is not to be the servant of mammon ; but to love it, and cleave to it in thine heart. For if thou have goods only to maintain the office which God hath put thee in, and of the rest help thy neighbour's need, so art thou lord over thy mammon, and not his servant. Of them that are rich, how shalt thou know the master of mammon from the servant? Verily, first, by the getting; secondarily, when his poor neighbour complaineth, if he is mammon's servant, mammon will shut up his heart, and make him without compassion; thirdly, the cross of Christ will try them, the one from the other. For when persecution ariseth for the word; then will the true servant of Christ bid mammon adieu. And the faithful servant of mammon will utter his hypocrisy, and not only renounce the doctrine of Christ, but also be a cruel and a sharp persecutor thereof, to put away all surmise, and that his fidelity which he hath in his master, mammon, may openly appear.

Ver. 25. *"Therefore I say unto you, care not for your lives what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink, neither for your bodies, what ye shall put on. Is not the life more than meat, and the body more than raiment?"*

He that buildeth a costly house, even to the tiling, will not leave there, and lose so great cost for so small a trifle more. No more will He, that gave thee so precious a soul, and so beautiful a body, let either of them perish again before the day, for so small a thing as food or raiment: God never made mouth,

but he made meat for it, nor body but he made raiment also. Howbeit, mammon blindeth our eyes, so we can neither see nor judge aright.

*Ver. 26, 27. "Behold the fowls of the air, how they sow not, neither reap, nor gather into storehouses, and yet your heavenly Father feedeth them. And are not ye far better than they? Which of you, with taking thought, is able to put one cubit unto his stature?"*

He, that careth for the least of his creatures, will much more care for the greatest. The birds of the air and beasts preach all to us, that we should leave caring, and put our trust in our Father. But mammon hath made us so dull, and so clean without capacity, that no example or argument, be it never so vehement, can enter the wits of us, to make us see, or judge aright. Finally, what a madness it is, to take so great thought for food or raiment, when the wealth, health, life of thy body, and all together are out of thy power. If all the world were thine, thou couldst not make thyself one inch longer, nor that thy stomach should digest the meat that thou puttest into it: no, thou art not sure that, that which thou puttest into thy mouth shall go through thee, or whether it shall choke thee. Thou canst not make, when thou liest or sittest down, that thou shalt arise again, or when thou sleepest, that thou shalt awake again, or that thou shouldst live one hour longer. So that He, which cared for thee, when thou couldst not care, must care for thee still, or else thou shouldst perish. And he will not care for thee to thy soul's profit, if thou mistrust him, and care for thyself.

Ver. 28—30. “ *And for raiment, why take ye thought? Behold the lilies of the field, how they grow, they labour not neither spin. And yet I say to you, that even Solomon in all his glory was not apparelled like one of them. Wherefore if the grass, which is to-day in the fields, and to-morrow shall be cast into the furnace, God so clothe; how much more shall he do the same unto you, O ye of little faith?*”

Not only fowl and beast, but also trees, herbs, and all the flowers of the earth do cry unto us, to trust God, and to cast away all care, that is coupled with covetousness, of more than sufficient to bear the charges which we have in our hands, by the reason of the state we are in the world: and all care that is annexed with mistrust, that God should not minister enough to bear all our charges: if we endeavour ourselves to keep his commandments, and to do every man his craft, or office he is in truly, and (when God to prove us, suffereth us to have need of our neighbours) we first complain to God, and desire him to prepare the hearts of our neighbours against we come to desire their help.

But mammon pipeth another song, saying; If thou shouldst make no other manner of labour for a benefice, than as if thou carest not whether thou hadst it, or hadst it not, it would be long ere thou gattest one, all would be taken out of thine hand? I answer; as thy labour was to get it, such shall be thy behaviour in it: as thou didst flatter to have it, so shalt thou in it. And as thou boughtest and soldest to get it, so shalt thou sell in it, to buy favour, and to be set by in the world. If thy principal intent, that thou seekest a benefice for, be lucre, then take heed to the example of thy forefather Simon Magus. Let thy care therefore be to

do the office that God putteth thee in truly, and the blessing that he coupleth thereto, that take with thanks, and neither care nor covet further.

Ver. 31—33. “Take no thought therefore, saying; *What shall we eat, or what shall we drink, or what shall we put on? All these things the heathen seek. Yea, and your heavenly Father knoweth that ye need all these things. But seek first the kingdom of God, and the righteousness thereof, and all these things shall be ministred unto you.*”

Be not like the heathen, which have no trust in God nor his word, nor believe any life to come. Let them vex themselves, and each be a devil to another for worldly things. But comfort thou thyself with the hope of a better life in another world, ever assured that thou shalt have here sufficient, only if thou keep covenant with the Lord thy God, and seek his kingdom, and the righteousness thereof above all things. The kingdom of God, is the Gospel, and doctrine of Christ. And the righteousness thereof, is to believe in Christ's blood for the remission of sins. Out of which righteousness springeth love to God, and thy neighbour for his sake, which is also righteousness, as I have said afore, so far as it is perfect, and that which lacketh is supplied by faith in God's word, in that he hath promised to accept that, till more come. Then followeth the outward righteousness of works, by the which, and diligent recording of God's word together, we grow and wax perfect, and keep ourselves from going back, and losing the Spirit again.

And these have our spirituality with their corrupt doctrine mingled together: that is to say, the righteousness of the kingdom of God, which is faith in Christ's blood; and the outward righteousness of the

members : that we ascribe to the one, that pertaineth to the other.

Seek the kingdom of heaven therefore, and the righteousness of the same, and be sure, thou shalt ever have sufficient, and these things shall be ministered unto thee, that is to say, shall come of their own accord, by the promise of God : yea, Christ promiseth thee an hundred fold, even in this life, of all that thou leavest for his sake. If that were true, would some say, who would not rather serve him, than mammon ? Yet is it true. For first, if thou be servant of mammon, thou must keep thy god, and thy god not thee. And every man that is stronger than thou, will take thy god from thee. Moreover, God will take either thee from thy mammon, or thy mammon from thee, ere thou wouldst, to avenge himself of thy blind unkindness ; that when he hath made thee and given thee all, thou forsakest him, and servest his mortal enemy. But if thou follow Christ, all the world (and let them take all the devils in hell to them) shall not be able to disappoint thee of a sufficient living. And though they persecute thee from house to house a thousand times, yet shall God provide thee of another, with all things sufficient to live by. Now, compare the surety of his, with the uncertainty of the other : and then the blessed end of this (that heaven is promised thee also) with the miserable departing from the other, so sore against thy will, and then the desperation that thy heart feeleth, that thou art already in hell. And then may not this be well called a thousand-fold more than the other ?

Ver. 34. *“Care not then for the day following, but let the day following care for itself. For the day that is present, hath ever enough of its own trouble.”*

If thou look well on the covenant, that is between thee and thy Lord God, on the one side, and the temptations of the world, the flesh, and Satan, on the other: thou shalt soon perceive that the day present hath ever enough to be cared for, and for which thou must cry instantly to God for help also, though thou do thy best. Now then, seeing the day present is overcharged with her own care, what madness is it to lade upon her also the care of the day following; yea, the care of a year, yea, of twenty years, or as though thou never intendest to die, and to torment and vex the soul, through mistrust and unbelief, and to make thy life sour and bitter, and as unquiet as the life of the devils in hell?

Therefore, care day by day, and hour by hour, earnestly to keep the covenant of the Lord thy God, and to record therein day and night, and to do thy part unto the uttermost of thy power. And as for God's part, let him care for it himself, and believe thou his word stedfastly; and be sure that heaven and earth shall sooner perish than one jot abide behind of that he hath promised. And for thine own part also, care not of that manner, as though thou shouldst do all alone. Nay, God hath first promised to help thee; secondarily, to accept thine heart, and that little that thou art able to do, be it never so imperfect: thirdly, though wind, weather, and the stream carry thee clean contrary to thy purpose, yet because thou abidest still in thy profession, ready to turn the right course, as soon as the tempest is a little over blown, God promiseth to forgive that, and not the less to fulfil his promises of one jot.

Doth Christ so defend his, that they never come in danger of trouble? Yes, they come into such straits oft, that no wit nor reason can see any way out, save faith only is sure that God hath and will make a way through. But that temptation is but for an hour to teach them, and to make them feel the goodness of their Father, and the passions of their brethren, and of their Master Christ also. It is but as a loving mother, to make her child to perceive and feel her kindness (to love her again and be thankful) letteth it hunger in a morning. And when it calleth for its breakfast, maketh as she heard not, till for pain and impatience it beginneth to cry agood. And then she stilleth it, and giveth it all that it asketh, and more too, to please it. And when it is appeased, and beginneth to eat, and rejoiceth, and is glad, and fain, she asketh who gave thee that, thy mother? And it saith, *Yea*; then saith she: Am not I a good mother that give thee all things? And it answereth, *Yea*. And she asketh, Wilt thou love thy mother, &c.? and it saith, *Yea*; and so cometh it to the knowledge of his mother's kindness, and is thankful. Such is the temptation of Christ's elect, and otherwise not.

Here is not forbidden all manner of care, but that worldly and devilish care, that springeth of an inordinate love to worldly things, and of mistrust in God. As for an ensample: I covet inordinately more than sufficient, or but even that I have need of. And it (because I mistrust God, and have no hope in him, and therefore pray not to him) cometh not: then I mourn, sorrow, and pine away, and am whole unquiet in mine heart. Or whether I have too much, or but sufficient, and love it inordinately: then I care for the keeping. And because I mistrust God, and have no hope in him, that he will help me, therefore when I have locked doors, chambers, and

coffers, I am never the nearer at rest, but care still, and taste a thousand perils, of which the most part were not in my might to avoid though I never slept. And where this care is, there can the word of God have no resting place, but is choked up as soon as it is sown.

There is another care, that springeth out of the love of God (for every love hath her care), and is a care to keep God's commandments. This care must every man have. "For a man liveth not by bread only, but much more by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God." The keeping of God's commandment is the life of a man, as well in this world, as in the world to come. As, child, obey father and mother, that thou mayst long live on the earth. And by father and mother is understood all rulers. Which if thou obey, thy blessing shall be long life: and contrary, if thou disobey, short life: and shalt either perish by the sword, or by some other plague, and that shortly. And even so shall the ruler, if he rule not as God hath commanded. "Oppress thou a widow and fatherless children (saith God), and they shall cry to me, and I will hear their voice, and then will my wrath wax hot: so I will smite you with sword, and your wives shall be widows, and your children fatherless."

Some will say, I see none more prosper, or longer continue, than those that be most cruel tyrants. What then? Yet say I, that God abideth ever true. For where he setteth up a tyrant, and continueth him in prosperity, it is to be a scourge to wicked subjects, that have forsaken the covenant of the Lord their God. And unto them his good promises pertain not, save his curses only. But if the subjects would turn, and repent, and follow the ways of God, he would shortly deliver them. Howbeit, yet where the superior corrupteth the inferior, which else is dis-



posed enough to goodness, God will not let them long continue.

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*From the Exposition of Mat. vii. at Page 238.*

Ver. 7—11, “*Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you. For all that ask receive, and he that seeketh, findeth. And to him that knocketh it shall be opened. For what man is it among you, if his son asked him bread, that would proffer him a stone? Or if he asked him fish, would he offer him a serpent? If ye then, which are evil, know to give good gifts to your children, how much more shall your Father, which is in heaven, give good things to them that ask him?*”

First, note of these words, that to pray, is God's commandment, as it is to believe in God, to love God, or to love thy neighbour: and so are alms and fasting also. Neither is it possible to believe in God, to love him, or to love thy neighbour, but that prayer will spring out there-hence immediately. For to believe in God, is to be sure that all thou hast is of him, and all thou needest must come of him. Which if thou do, thou canst not but continually thank him for his benefits, which thou continually without ceasing receivest of his hand; and thereto ever cry for help, for thou art ever in need, and canst no-whence else be holpen. And thy neighbour is in such necessity also; wherefore, if thou love him, it will compel thee to pity him, and to cry to God for him continually, and to thank as well for him as thyself.

Secondarily, this heaping of so many words together, ask, seek, and knock, signifies that the prayer must be continual, and so doth the parable of the widow, that sued to the wicked judge: and the cause

is, that we are ever in continual necessity (as I say), and all our life but even a warfare and a perpetual battle. In which we prevail, as long as we pray, and are overcome as soon as we cease praying: as Israel overcame the Amalekites (Ex. xvii.), as long as Moses held up his hands in prayer; and as soon as he had let down his hands for weariness, the Amalekites prevailed, and had the better.

Christ warned his disciples at his last supper to have peace in him, affirming that they should have none in the world. The false prophets shall ever impugn the faith in Christ's blood, and enforce to quench the true understanding of the law, and the right meaning and intent of all the works commanded by God, which fight is a fight above all fights. First, they shall be in such number, that Christ's true disciples shall be but a small flock in respect of them: they shall have works like Christ, so that fasting, prayer, poverty, obedience, and chastity shall be the names of their profession. For as Paul saith to the Corinthians, the angels or messengers of Satan shall change themselves into angels or messengers of light and truth. They shall come in Christ's name, and with signs and miracles, and have the upper hand also, even to deceive the very elect, if it were possible. Yea, and beyond all this, if thou get the victory of the false prophets, and pluck a multitude out of their hands, there shall immediately arise of the same, and set up a new false sect against thee. And, against all these Amalekites, the only remedy is to lift up the hands of thy heart to God in continual prayer. Which hands, if thou for weariness once let fall, thou goest to the worse immediately. Then beside the fight and conflict of the subtle sophistry, false miracles, disguised and hypocritical works of these false prophets, come the dogs and wolves of their disciples with the servants of mammon, and the swine of

thine own scholars; against which all thou hast no other shield or defence, but prayer. Then the sin and lusts of thine own flesh, Satan, and a thousand temptations unto evil in the world, will either drive thee to the castle and refuge of prayer, or take thee prisoner undoubtedly.

Last of all, thy neighbour's necessity and thine own will compel thee to cry, "Father, which art in heaven, give us our daily bread," though thou were as rich as king Solomon. For Christ commandeth the rich, as well as the poor, to cry to God continually for their daily bread. And if they have no such need, then is Christ a deceiver and a mocker. What need I to pray thee to give or lend me that, which is in mine own possession already? Is not the first commandment; that there is but one God, and that thou put thy whole trust in him? Which, if it were written in thine heart, thou shouldst easily perceive, and though thou hadst as many thousands as David left behind him, and Solomon heaped more to them, that thou hadst no more than the poor beggar that goeth from door to door; yea, and that the beggar (if that commandment be written in his heart) is sure, that he is as rich as thou. For first, thou must acknowledge that thou hast received the great treasure of the hand of God. Wherefore, when thou fetchest a halfpenny thereof, thou oughtest to give God thanks in thine heart for the gift thereof.

Thou must confess also, that God only hath kept it and thee that same night, and ever before, or else be an idolater, and put thy trust in some other thing than God. And thou must confess that God only must keep it and thee, the day and night following, and so continually after, and not thine own wit or power, or the wit or power of any other creature or creatures. For if God kept it not for thee, it would be thine own destruction; and they that help thee to

keep it, would cut thy throat for it. There is no king in Christendom so well beloved, but he hath enough of his own evil subjects (if God kept them not down with fear) that would at one hour rise upon him, and slay him, to make havock of all he hath. Who is so well beloved throughout all England, but that there be enough in the same parish, or nigh about, that would, for his good, wish him to hell if they could, and would with their hands destroy him, if God kept him not, and did cast fear on the others?

Now then, if God must ever keep it for thee, and thou must daily receive it of his hand (as a poor man doth receive his alms of another man), thou art in no more surety of thy daily bread: no, though thou were a cardinal, than the poorest is. Wherefore, howsoever rich thou be, yet must thou ever cry to God for thy daily bread. So, now it is a commandment to pray, and that continually, short, thick, and oft, as the Psalms be, and all the prayers of the Bible.

Finally, the third is that we be commanded to pray with faith and trust, and that we believe in the Lord our God, and doubt not in his promises, unto which Christ induceth us with an apt similitude, saying: "If ye being evil can yet give good things unto your children, how much more shall God fulfil his promises of mercy unto his children, if they cry unto him?" He is better and more merciful than all men. Wherefore, seeing God commandeth thee to pray, and forasmuch as thou hast so great necessity so to do, and because he is merciful, and hath promised, and is true, and cannot deny his own words: therefore pray, and when thou prayest, look not on thine unworthiness, but on his commandment, mercy, and goodness, and on his truth and faithfulness, and believe stedfastly in him. Moreover, whatsoever thou hast done, yet if thou repent and wilt amend,

he promiseth that he will not think on thy sins. And though he defer thee, think it not long, nor faint in thy faith, or be slack in thy prayer. For he will surely come, and give thee more than thou desirest, though he defer for thy profit, or change thy request into a better thing.

Ver. 12. *“ All things therefore whatsoever ye would, that men should do to you, so do ye to them. This is verily the law and the prophets.”*

This is a short sermon, that no man need to complain, that he cannot for the length bear it away. It is so nigh thee, that thou needest not to send over sea for it; it is with thee, that thou needest not to be importune upon master doctor: saying, Sir, I pray you, what say ye to this case, and to that.; and is not this lawful, and may I not so do, and so, well enough? Ask thine own conscience what thou mayst or oughtest to do. Wouldst thou men did so with thee, then do it. Wouldst thou not be so dealt with, then do it not. Thou wouldst not that men should do to thee wrong, and oppress thee: thou wouldst not that men should do thee shame, and rebuke, lie on thee, kill thee, hire thine house from thee, or entice thy servant away, or take, against thy will, aught that is thine. Thou wouldst not that men should sell thee false ware, when thou puttest them in trust to make it ready, or lay it out for thee, nor thou wouldst not that men should deceive thee with great oaths, swearing that to be good, which indeed is very naught: thou wouldst not also that men should sell thee ware that is naught and too dear, to undo thee: do no such things then to thy neighbour. But as loth as thou wouldst be to buy false ware, or too dear, for undoing thyself; so loth be thou to sell false ware, or too dear, for undoing thy neighbour.

And in all thy needs, how glad thou wouldst be to be holpen, so glad be to help thy neighbour. And so in all cases, examine thy conscience, and ask her what is to be done in all doubts, between thy neighbour and thee, and she will teach thee, except thou be more filthy than a swine, and altogether beastly.

He saith here : " This is the law and the prophets." And (Mat. xxii.) he saith, " Thou shalt love thy Lord God with all thine heart, with all thy soul, and all thy mind," and, as Mark addeth, " with all thy might, and thy neighbour as thyself. In these two commandments hang the whole law and the prophets." And Paul (Rom. xiii. and Gal. v.) saith, that, " Love is the fulfilling of the law." And it is written, that " Christ is the fulfilling or end of the law." To make all these agree, this thou must understand : that to love God purely, is the final and uttermost end of all the law and the prophets. To love thy neighbour, is the end of all laws, that is between man and man : as are, " Kill not, steal not, bear no false witness, commit no adultery, covet not thy neighbour's wife, his house, ox, ass, maid, man servant, nor aught that is his," &c. Christ is the fulfilling of the law for us, where we are imperfect. And when we break and repent, his fulfilling is imputed unto us. And this text, " This is the law and the prophets," mayst thou understand, as when Paul saith, " Love is the fulfilling of the law." That is, to do as thou wouldst be done to, is all the law that is between thee and thy neighbour, and that according to the true understanding and interpreting of all true prophets.

*From the Exposition of the same Chapter,  
' at Page 246.*

Ver. 28, 29. *“ And it came to pass, that when Jesus had ended these sayings, the people were astonished at his doctrine, for he taught them as one having power, and not as the Scribes.”*

The Scribes and Pharisees had thrust up the sword of the word of God into a scabbard, or sheath of glosses, and therein had knit it fast, that it could neither stick nor cut; teaching dead works without faith and love, which are the life, and the whole goodness of all works, and the only thing why they please God. And therefore their audience abode ever carnal and fleshly minded, without faith to God and love to their neighbours.

Christ's words were spirit and life (John, vi.): that is to say, they ministred spirit and life, and entered into the heart, and grated on the conscience, and through preaching the law, made the hearers perceive their duties: even what love they owed to God, and what to man, and the right damnation of all them, that had not the love of God and man written in their hearts: and through preaching of faith, made all that consented to the law of God, feel the mercy of God in Christ, and certified them of their salvation.

“ For the word of God is a two-edged sword, that pierceth and divideth the spirit and soul of man asunder.” (Heb. iv.) A man before the preaching of God's word is but one man, all flesh, the soul consenting unto the lusts of the flesh, to follow them. But the sword of the word of God, where it taketh effect, divideth a man in two, and setteth him at variance against his own self: the flesh haling one way, and the Spirit drawing another: the flesh ra-

ging to follow lusts, and the Spirit calling back again, to follow the law and will of God. A man all the while he consenteth to the flesh, and before he be born again in Christ, is called soul or carnal. But when he is renewed in Christ through the word of life, and hath the love of God and of his neighbour, and the faith of Christ written in his heart, he is called spirit or spiritual. The Lord of all mercy send us preachers with power; that is to say, true expounders of the word of God, and speakers to the heart of man: and deliver us from scribes, pharisees, hypocrites, and all false prophets. Amen.



## EXTRACTS,

From a Work entitled, "*An Answer unto Sir Thomas More's Dialogue.*" Made by *W. Tindal, A. D. 1530.*

**N. B.** *Sir Thomas More was Lord High Chancellor of this kingdom, and was the Author of some severe Treatises in defence of Popery, against the principles of the Reformers.*

*Whether the Church can err?—At Page 257.*

THERE is another question, whether the church may err; which if ye understand of the pope and his generation, it is verily as hard a question, as to ask whether he, which hath both his eyes out, be blind or no; or whether it be possible for him, that hath one leg shorter than another, to halt. But I said, that Christ's elect church is the whole multitude of all repenting sinners, that believe in Christ, and put all their trust and confidence in the mercy of God, feeling in their hearts that God for Christ's sake loveth them, and will be, or rather is merciful unto them, and forgiveth them their sins of which they repent, and that he forgiveth them also all the motions unto sin, of which they fear lest they should thereby be drawn into sin again. And this faith they have without all respect of their own deservings, yea, and for none other cause than that the merciful truth of God the Father, which cannot lie, hath so promised and so sworn.

And this faith and knowledge is everlasting life, and by this we be born anew and made the sons of God, and obtain forgiveness of sins, and are translated from death to life, and from the wrath of God unto his love and favour. And this faith is the

mother of all truth, and bringeth with her the spirit of all truth. Which spirit purgeth us, as from all sin, even so from all lies and error, noisome and hurtful. And this faith is the foundation laid of the Apostles and Prophets, whereon Paul saith (Eph. ii.), that we are built, and thereby of the household of God. And this faith is the rock, whereon Christ built his congregation. Christ asked the Apostles (Mat. xvi.) whom they took him for? And Peter answered for them all, saying; "I say that thou art Christ the Son of the living God; that art come into this world." That is, we believe that thou art he, that was promised unto Abraham, that should come to bless us, and deliver us. Howbeit, Peter yet wist not by what means. But now it is opened throughout all the world, that through the offering of his body and blood, that offering is a satisfaction for the sin of all that repent, and a purchasing of whatsoever they can ask, to keep them in favour, and that they sin no more. And Christ answered; "Upon this rock I will build my congregation;" that is, upon this faith. And against the rock of this faith can no sin, no hell, no devil, no lies, nor error, prevail.

For whatsoever any man hath committed, if he repent and come to this rock, he is safe. And that this faith is the only way by which the church of Christ goeth unto God, and unto the inheritance of all his riches, testify all the Apostles and Prophets, and all the Scriptures, with signs and miracles, and all the blood of martyrs. And whosoever goeth unto God, and unto forgiveness of sins, or salvation, by any other way than this, the same is an heretic, out of the right way, and not of Christ's church.

For this knowledge maketh a man of the church. And the church is Christ's body (Col. i.), and every

person of the church is a member of Christ (Eph. v.). Now it is no member of Christ, that hath not Christ's Spirit in it (Rom. viii.): as it is no part of me, or member of my body, wherein my soul is not present, and quickeneth it. And then if a man be none of Christ's, he is not of his church.

*How a true Member of Christ's Church sinneth not,  
and how he is yet a Sinner.*

Furthermore, he that hath this faith cannot sin, and therefore cannot be deceived with damnable errors: for by this faith we are, as I said, born of God. Now, "He that is born of God cannot sin, for his seed dwelleth in him, and he cannot therefore sin, because he is born of God" (1 John, iii.): which seed is the Holy Ghost, that keepeth a man's heart from consenting unto sin. And therefore it is a false conclusion that *M. More* holdeth, how that a man may have a right faith joined with all kinds of abomination and sin.

And yet every member of Christ's congregation is a sinner; and sinneth daily, some more and some less. For it is written (1 John, i.), "If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us." And again, "If we say, we have not sinned, we make him a liar; and his word is not in us." And Paul (Rom. vii.) saith; "That good which I would, that do I not, but that evil which I would not, that do I. So it is not I, that do it (saith he), but sin that dwelleth in me." Thus are we sinners, and no sinners. No sinners, if thou look unto the profession of our hearts toward the law of God; on our repentance and sorrow that we have, both because we have sinned, and also because we are yet full of sin still; and unto the promises of mercy in our Saviour Christ, and unto our faith. Sinners

are we, if thou look unto the frailty of our flesh, which is as the weakness of one, that is newly recovered out of a great disease, by the reason whereof, our deeds are imperfect. And by the reason whereof also, when occasions be great, we fall into horrible deeds, and the fruit of the sin, which remaineth in our members, breaketh out. Notwithstanding yet, the Spirit leaveth us not, but rebuketh us, and bringeth us home again unto our profession, so that we never cast off the yoke of God from our necks, neither yield up ourselves unto sin for to serve it, but fight afresh and begin a new battle.

*How a Christian Man cannot err, and how he may yet err.*

And as they sin not, so they err not. And on the other side, as they sin, so they err; but never unto death and damnation. For they never sin of purpose, nor hold any error maliciously, sinning against the Holy Ghost, but of weakness and infirmity. As good obedient children, though they love their Father's commandments, yet break them oft, by reason of their weakness. And as they cannot yield themselves bond unto sin, to serve it: even so, they cannot err in any thing that should be against the promises which are in Christ. And in other things their errors be not unto damnation, though they be never so great, because they hold them not maliciously. As now, if some when they read, in the New Testament, of Christ's brethren, would think that they were our *Lady's* children after the birth of Christ, because they know not the use of speaking of the Scriptures, or of the Hebrews, how that nigh kinsmen are called brethren; or haply they might be Joseph's children, by some first wife; neither can have any to teach him, for tyranny that is so great,

yet could it not hurt him, though he died therein, because it hurteth not the redemption that is in Christ's blood. For though she had none but Christ, I am therefore never the more saved; neither yet the less, though she had. And in such like, an hundred, that pluck not a man's faith from Christ; they might err, and yet be nevertheless saved, no, though the contrary were written in the Gospel. For as in other sins, as soon as they are rebuked, they repent: even so here, as soon as they were better taught, they should immediately acknowledge their errors, and not resist.

But they which maliciously maintain opinions against the Scripture, or that cannot be proved by the Scripture, or such as make no matter unto the Scripture, and salvation that is in Christ, whether they be true or no, and for the blind zeal of them make sects, breaking the unity of Christ's church, for whose sake they ought to suffer all things, and rise against their neighbours, whom they ought to love as themselves, to slay them; such men, I say, are fallen from Christ, and make an idol of their opinions, for except they put trust in such opinions, and thought them necessary unto salvation, or with a cankered conscience went about to deceive for some filthy purpose, they would never break the unity of faith, or yet slay their brethren. Now is this a plain conclusion, that both they, that trust in their own works, and they also, that put confidence in their own opinions, are fallen from Christ, and err from the way of faith, that is in Christ's blood, and therefore are none of Christ's church, because they are not built upon the rock of faith.

*Faith is ever assailed and fought withal.*

Moreover, this our faith, which we have in Christ, is ever fought against, ever assailed and beaten at

with desperation: not when we sin only, but also in all temptations of adversity, into which God bringeth us, to nurture us, and to shew us our own hearts, the hypocrisy and false thoughts that there lie hid, our almost no faith at all, and as little love, even then haply when we thought ourselves most perfect of all. For when temptations come, we cannot stand; when we have sinned, faith is feeble; when wrong is done us, we cannot forgive; in sickness, in loss of goods, and in all tribulations we be impatient; when our neighbour needeth our help, that we must depart with him of ours, then love is cold.

And thus we learn and feel, that there is no goodness, nor yet power to do good, but of God only. And in all such temptations, our faith perisheth not utterly, neither our love and consent unto the law of God. But they are weak, sick, and wounded, and not clean dead. As a good child, whom the father and mother have taught nurture and wisdom, loveth his father, and all his commandments, and perceiveth of the goodness shewed him, that his father loveth him, and that all his father's precepts are unto his wealth and profit, and that his father commandeth him nothing for any need that his father hath thereof; but seeketh his profit only, and therefore hath a good faith unto all his father's promises, and loveth all his commandments, and doth them with good will; and with good will goeth to school. And by the way haply he seeth company, and with the sight is taken, and ravished of his memory, and forgetteth himself, and standeth, and beholdeth, and falleth to play also, forgetting father and mother, all their kindness, all their laws, and his own profit thereto. Howbeit, the knowledge of his father's kindness, the faith of his promises, and the love that he hath again unto his father, and the obedient mind, are not utterly quenched, but lie hid, as all things do, when

a man sleepeth, or lieth in a trance. And as soon as he hath played out all his lusts, or be warned in the mean season, he cometh again unto his old profession. Never the later, many temptations go over his heart, and the law, as a right hangman, tormenteth his conscience, and goeth nigh to persuade him that his father will cast him away, and hang him if he catch him, so that he is like a great while to run away, rather than to return unto his father again. Fear, and dread of rebuke, and of loss of his father's love, and of punishment, wrestle with the trust which he hath in his father's goodness, and as it were give his faith a fall. But it riseth again, as soon as the rage of the first brunt is past, and his mind more quiet. And the goodness of his father, and his old kindness cometh unto remembrance, either of his own courage, or by the comfort of some other. And he believeth that his father will not cast him away, or destroy him, and hopeth that he will no more do so.

And upon that he getteth him home, dismayed, but not altogether faithless. The old kindnesses will not let him despair. Howbeit, all the world cannot set his heart at rest, until the pain be past, and until he have heard the voice of his father, that all is forgiven.

### *The Manner and Order of our Salvation.*

Even so, goeth it with God's elect. God chooseth them first, and they not God, as thou readest, John, xv. And then he sendeth forth, and calleth them, and sheweth them his good will, which he beareth unto them, and maketh them see, both their own damnation in the law, and also the mercy that is laid up for them in Christ's blood, and thereto what he will have them do: and then, when we see his mercy, we love him again, and choose him, and subinit ourselves unto his laws to walk in them. For

when we err not in wit, reason, and judgment of things, we cannot err in will and choice of things. The choice of a man's will doth naturally, and of her own accord follow the judgment of a man's reason, whether he judge right or wrong. So, that in teaching only resteth the pith of a man's living. Howbeit, there are swine, that receive no learning but to defile it. And there are dogs, that rent all good learning with their teeth. And there are pope-holy, which following a righteousness of their own feigning, resist the righteousness of God in Christ. And there are, that cannot attend to hearken unto the truth for rage of lusts, which, when lusts abate, come, and obey well enough.

And therefore a Christian man must be patient, and suffer long, to win his brother to Christ, that he, which attendeth not to-day, may receive grace, and hear to-morrow: we see some at their very latter end, when cold fear of death, hath quenched the heart of their appetites, learn and consent unto the truth, whereunto before they could, give none ear for the wild rage of lusts, that blinded their wits;

And though God's elect cannot so fall, that they rise not again, because that the mercy of God ever waiteth upon them, to deliver them from evil, as the care of a kind father waiteth upon his son, to warn him, and to keep him from occasions, and to call him back again, if he be gone too far: yet they forget themselves oftentimes, and sink down into trances, and fall asleep in lusts for a season. But as soon as they are awaked, they repent, and come again without resistance. God now and then withdraweth his hand, and leaveth them unto their own strength, to make them feel that there is no power to do good, but of God only, lest they should be proud of that which is none of theirs. God laid so sore a weight of



persecution upon David's back, that passed his strength to bear. So that he cried oft out in his Psalms, saying, that he had lived well, and followed the right way of God in vain. For the more he kept himself from sin, the worse it went with him, as he thought; and the better with his enemy Saul, the worse he was. Yet God left him not there, but comforted him, and shewed him things which before he wist not of; how that the saints must be patient, and abide God's harvest, until the wickedness of ungodly sinners be full ripe, that God may ripen it in due season.

God also suffered occasions stronger than David, to fall upon him and to carry him clean out of the way. Was he not ready for a churlish answer, to have slain Nabal, and all the males of his house, so much as the child in the cradle? Howbeit, God withheld him, and kept him back from that evil, through the wisdom of Abigail. How long slumbered he, or rather how hard in sleep was he in the adultery of Bathsheba, and in the murder of her husband Uriah. But at both times, as soon as he was rebuked, and his fault told him, he repented immediately, and turned again meekly. Now in all that long time, from the adultery of Bathsheba until the prophet Nathan rebuked him, he had not lost his faith, nor yet his love unto the laws of God, no more than a man loseth his wits, when he is asleep. He had forgotten himself only, and had not maliciously cast off the yoke of God's commandments from off his neck. There is no man so good, but that there cometh a time upon him, when he feeleth in himself no more faith or love unto God, than a sick man oftentimes feeleth the taste of his meat, which he eateth.

And in like manner the Apostles of Christ at his passion were astonished and amazed, and in such a

storm of temptations, for the sudden change from so great glory into so vile and shameful death, that they had forgotten all the miracles, and all the words, which he had told them before, how that he should be betrayed and delivered on the same manner unto death. Moreover, they never understood that saying of his death, because their hearts were alway heavy and overladen with earthly thoughts. For though they saw him raise up others, yet who should raise him up, when he was dead, they could not comprehend.

Read what thou read canst, and thou shalt find no temptation like unto that from the creation of the world, or so great as it, by the hundredth part. So, that the wonderful sudden change, and the terrible sight of his passion, and of his most cruel and most vile death, and the loss of him whom they so greatly loved, that their hearts would fain have died with him, and the fear of their own death, and the impossibility that a man should rise again of his own power, so occupied their minds, and so astonished them, and amazed them, that they could receive no comfort, neither of the Scripture, nor of the miracles which they had seen Christ do, nor of the admonitions and warnings, wherewith he had warned them before, neither of the women that brought them tidings that he was risen. The sword of temptations with fear, sorrow, mourning, and weeping, had deeply pierced their hearts, and the cruel sight had so cumbered their minds, that they could not believe, until Christ himself came (death put off and overcome), yea, and when they first saw him, they were astonished for wondering and joy together, that thoughts arose in their hearts, alas, is this he, or doth some spirit mock us? He was fain to let them feel him, and to eat with them, to strengthen their faith.

Howbeit, there were none of them that were fallen in their hearts from Christ. For as soon as the women brought word, Peter and John ran unto the sepulchre, and saw, and wondered, and would fain have believed that he was risen, and longed for him; but could not believe, the wound of temptation being greater, than that it could be healed with the preaching of a woman without any other miracle.

Joseph of Arimathea, and Nicodemus, which while he yet lived, durst not be a-known of him, as soon as he was dead, begged his body, and buried him boldly. And the women, as soon as it was lawful to work, prepared their ointments with all diligence. And the hearts of the disciples, that went to Emmaus; burned in their breasts to hear him spoken of.

And Thomas had not forsaken Christ, but could not believe, until he saw him; and yet desired and longed to see him, and rejoiced when he saw him, and for joy cried out, "My Lord, my God." There was none of them, that ever railed on him, and came so far forth to say, he was a deceiver, and wrought with the devil's craft all this while; and see whereto he is come in the end; we defy him and all his works, false wretch that he was, and his false doctrine also. And thereto must they have come at the last, when fear, sorrow, and wondering had been past, if they had not been prevented, and holpen in the mean time.

Yea, and Peter, as soon as he had denied Christ, came to himself immediately, and went out, and wept bitterly for sorrow. And thus ye see, that Peter's faith failed not, though it were oppressed for a time: so that we need to seek no glosses for the text, that Christ said to Peter, how that his faith should not fail.

then they go unto their own imaginations, saying; we may no longer serve idols, but God; that is, but one. And the manner of service they set out of their own brains, and not out of the word of God, and serve God with bodily service, as they did in times past their idols, their hearts serving their own lusts still. And one will serve him in white, another in black, another in grey, and another in pied. And another to do God a pleasure withal, will be sure, that his shoe shall have two or three good thick soles under, and will cut him above, so that in summer, while the weather is hot, thou mayst see his bare foot, and in winter his sock. They will be shorn and shaven, and Sadducees; that is to say, righteous, and Pharisees, that are separated in fashions from all other men. Yea, and they will consecrate themselves altogether unto God, and will anoint their hands, and hallow them as the chalice, from all manner of lay uses: so that they may serve neither father, nor mother, master, lord, or prince, for polluting themselves, but must wait on God only, to gather up his rents, tithes, offerings, and all other duties. And all the sacrifice that comes, they consume in the altar of their bellies, and make *scabit* of it, that is, a sacrifice that no man may have part of. They believe that there is a God: but as they cannot love his laws, so they have no power to believe in him. But they put their trust and confidence in their own works, and by their own works they will be saved; as the rich of this world, when they sue unto great men, hope with gifts and presents to obtain their causes. Neither other serving of God know they, save such as their eyes may see, and their bellies feel. And of very zeal they will be God's vicars, and prescribe a manner unto others, and after what fashion they shall serve God, and compel them

thereto, for the avoiding of idolatry, as thou seest in the Pharisees.

But the little flock, as soon as they are persuaded that there is a God, run not unto their own imaginations, but unto the messenger that called them, and of him asketh how they shall serve God. As Paul (Act. ix.), when Christ had overthrown him and caught him in his net, asked, saying; "Lord, what wilt thou that I do?" And as the multitude that were converted (Act. ii.), asked of the Apostles, what they should do. And the preacher setteth the law of God before them, and they offer their hearts to have it written therein, consenting that it is good and righteous.

And because they have run clean contrary unto that good law, they sorrow and mourn, and because also their bodies and flesh are otherwise disposed. But the preacher comforteth them, and sheweth them the testament of Christ's blood, how that for his sake all that is done is forgiven, and all their weakness shall be taken in worth, until they are stronger; only if they repent and will submit themselves to be scholars, and learn to keep this law. And the little flock receive this testament in their hearts, and in it walk and serve God in the Spirit. And from henceforth all is Christ with them, and Christ is theirs, and they are Christ's. All that they receive they receive of Christ, and all that they do, they do to Christ. Father, mother, master, lord, and prince, are Christ unto them, and as Christ they serve them with all love. Their wives, children, servants, and subjects, are Christ unto them, and they teach them to serve Christ, and not themselves and their lusts. And if they receive any good thing of man, they thank God in Christ, which moved the man's heart. And their neighbour they serve as Christ in all his need, of

such things as God hath lent, because that all things are bought as they are, with Christ's blood.

And the little flock will not be saved for serving their brethren, neither promise their brethren heaven for serving them. But heaven, justifying, forgiveness, all gifts of grace, and all that is promised they receive of Christ, and by his merits freely. And of that which they have received of Christ, they serve each other freely, as one hand doth the other, seeing for their service no more than one hand doth another, each the other's health, wealth, help, a succour, and to assist one another in the way of Christ. And God they serve in the Spirit only, love, hope, faith, and dread.

When the great multitude that are called and chosen, Cain, Ishmael, Esau, and carnal Israel, that serve God night and day with bodily service, and holy works, such as they were wont to serve their idols withal, behold the little flock, that they come not forth in the service of God, they roar out, What art thou? Why comest thou not forth, and take holy water? Wherefore? saith the little flock. I have put away thy sins. Nay, brethren, God forbid that ye should so think; Christ's blood only washes away the sins of all that repent and believe. Fire, salt, water, bread, and oil are bodily things, given unto man for his necessity, and to help his brethren with, and God that is a spirit cannot be served therewith. Neither can such things enter into the soul to purge her. For God's word only is her purgation. No, say they, are not such things hallowed? Answer we not, in the hallowing of them, that whatsoever is sprinkled with the water, or eateth of bread, shall receive health of soul and body? Since the blessings promised unto Abraham for all nations are in Christ, and out of his blood we must fetch them, and his word is the bread, salt, and water.

our souls. God hath given you no power to give through your charms such virtue unto insensible creatures, which he hath hallowed himself; and made them all clean (for the bodily use of them that believe) through his word of promise, and permission and our thanksgiving. God saith, if thou believe St. John's Gospel, thou shalt be saved, and not for the bearing of it about thee with so many crosses, or for the observing of any such observances.

God, for thy bitter passion roar they out by and by, what an heretic is this? I tell thee, that holy church need to allege no Scripture for them, for they have the Holy Ghost, which inspireth them ever secretly, so that they cannot err, whatsoever they say, do, or ordain. What, wilt thou despise the blessed sacraments of holy church wherewith God hath been served this fifteen hundred years? (yea, verily this five thousand years, even since Cain hitherto, and shall endure unto the world's end, among them that have no love unto the truth to be saved thereby.) Thou art a strong heretic, and worthy to be burnt. And then he is excommunicated out of the church. If the little flock fear not that bug, then they go straight unto the king: and it like your grace, perilous people and seditious, and even enough to destroy your realin, if ye sec not to them betimes. They are so obstinate and tough, that they will not be converted, and rebellious against God and the ordinances of his holy church. And how much more shall they so be against your grace, if they increase and grow to a multitude? They will pervert all, and surely make new laws, and either subdue your grace unto them, or rise against you. And then goeth a part of the little flock to pot, and the rest scatter. Thus hath it ever been, and shall ever be, let no man therefore deceive himself.

*On the Love of God to his People, and their true Character.—At Page 293.*

In the third chapter and in the chapter following he (*More*) uttereth how fleshly minded he is, and how beastly he imagineth of God, as Paul saith (1 Cor. i.). "The natural man cannot understand the thing the Spirit of God." He thinketh of God as doth of his cardinal, that he is a monster, pleased when men flatter him, and if, of whatsoever frailty it be, men break his commandments, he is then raging mad as the pope is, and seeketh to be avenged. Nay, God is ever fatherly minded toward the members of his church. He loved them, ere the world began, in Christ (Eph. i.). He loveth them while they be yet evil and his enemies in their hearts ere they become unto the knowledge of his Son Christ, and ere his law be written in their hearts: a father loveth his young son, while he is yet evil, and ere he know the father's law to consent thereto.

And after they are once actually of his church, and the law of God and faith of Christ written in their hearts, their hearts never sin any more, though Paul saith (Rom. vii.), the flesh doth in them till the Spirit would not. And when they sin of frailty God ceaseth not to love them still, though he be angry, to put a cross of tribulations upon their backs to purge them and to subdue the flesh unto the Spirit, or to all to break their consciences with the threatening of the law, and to fear them with his rod. As a father, when his son offendeth him, feareth him with the rod, but hateth him not. God did not hate Paul, when he persecuted, but had laid mercy for him in store, though he was angry with him to scourge him and to teach him better. Neither were those things laid on his back, which he suffered, to make satisfaction for his fore-sin.



but only to serve his brethren and to keep the flesh under. Neither did God hate David when he had sinned, though he was angry with him. Neither did he after suffer to make satisfaction to God for his old sins, but to keep his flesh under, to keep him in meekness, and to be an example for our learning.

In the fourth chapter, saith he, *if the church were an unknown company, how should the infidels, if they longed for the faith, come thereby?* O! whither wandereth a fleshy mind, as though we first sought out God. Nay, God knoweth his, and seeketh them out, and sendeth his messengers unto them, and giveth them a heart to understand. Did the heathen or any nation seek Christ? Nay, Christ sought them and sent his Apostles unto them. As thou seest in the stories from the beginning of the world, and as the parables and similitudes of the Gospel declare.

And when he saith, *he never found nor heard of any of us, but that he would forswear, to save his life.* Answer, the more wrath of God will light on them, that so cruelly delight to torment them, and so craftily to beguile the weak. Nevertheless, yet it is untrue. For he hath heard of Sir Thomas Hitton, whom the bishops of Rochester and Canterbury slew at Maidstone, and of many that suffered in Brabant, Holland, and at Cologne, and in all quarters of Dutchland, and do daily.

And when he saith, that *their church hath many martyrs*; let him shew me one that died for pardons and purgatory, that the pope hath feigned, and let him take the mastery.

And what ado maketh he, that we say, *there is a church that sinneth not; and that there is no man but that he sinneth*: which are yet both true. We read, (1 John, iii.), "He, that is born of God, sinneth not." And (Eph. v.), "Men, love your wives as

the Lord doth the church, and gave himself for her, to sanctify her and to cleanse her in the fountain of water through the word, and to make her a glorious church unto himself, without spot or wrinkle."

And (1 John, i.), "If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and make him a liar, and his word is not in us." *M. More*, also will not understand that the church is sometimes taken for the elect only, which have the law of God written in their hearts, and faith to be saved through Christ to be written there also. Which same for all that say with Paul, "That good which I would, that do I not: but that evil which I hate, that do I: so it is not I that do it, but sin that dwelleth in my flesh."

And (Gal. v.), "The flesh lusteth contrary to the Spirit, and the Spirit contrary to the flesh, so that these two fighting between themselves, ye can not do what ye would." For they never consent that sin is good, nor hate the law, nor cease to fight against the flesh, but as soon as they are fallen, rise and fight afresh. And that the church is sometimes taken for the common rascal of all that believe, whether with the mouth only and carnally without Spirit, neither loving the law in their hearts, nor feeling the mercy that is in Christ, but either run all together at riot, or keep the law with cautels and expositions of their own feigning, and yet not of love, but for fear of hell; as the thieves do for fear of the gallows, and make recompense to God for their sins with holy deeds.

He also will not understand, that there be two manner of faiths: *one*, that is the faith of the elect, which purgeth them of all their sins for ever. As ye see (John, xv.), "Ye be clean, saith Christ, by the reason of the word:" that is, through believing Christ's doctrine. And (John, i.), "He gave them power to be the sons of God, through believing in

his name." And (John, iii.), "He that believeth the Son, hath everlasting life," and a thousand like texts.

And *another*, of them that he called and never elected. As the faith of Judas, of Simon Magus, of the devil, and of the pope. In whose hearts the law of God is not written, as it appeareth by their works. And therefore, when they believe many things of Christ, yet when they come unto the salvation that is in his blood, they are but Jews and Turks; and forsake Christ, and run unto the justifying of ceremonies, with the Jews and Turks. And therefore they remain ever in sin within their hearts.

Whereas the elect, having the law written in their breasts, and leaving it in their spirits, sin there never, but without in the flesh. Against which sin they fight continually and diminish it daily, with the help of the Spirit, through prayer, fasting, and serving their neighbours lovingly with all manner of service, out of the law that is written in their hearts. And their hope of forgiveness is in Christ only, through his blood, and not in ceremonies.

And unto his fifth chapter, I answer, by the pope the Scripture is hid and brought into ignorance, and the true sense corrupted. And by them that ye call heretics, we know the Scripture and the true sense thereof. And I say, that the pope keepeth the Scripture as did the Pharisees, to make merchandise of it. And again, that the heretics become out of you, as out of the Scribes and Pharisees came the Apostles, and Christ himself, and John Baptist, and that they are plucked out of you, and grafted in Christ, and built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets.

And in the end, when he saith that *the heretics are fallen out of Christ's mystical body*, which is the pope and his. I answer, that ye are a mystical body, and walk in the mist, and will not come at the light,

and the heretics be departed out of your mist, and walk in the clear light of God's word.

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*On Faith and Works.—At Page 320.*

**More.** *He (Tindal) teacheth, that the sacrament hath no virtue at all, but by faith only.*

**Tindal.** The faith of a repenting soul in Christ's blood doth justify only. And the sacrament standeth in as good stead, as a lively preacher. And as the preacher justifieth me not, but my faith in the doctrine: even so the sign justifieth not, but the faith in the promise, which the sacrament signifieth and preacheth. And to preach, is all the virtue of the sacrament. And where the sacraments preach not, there they have no virtue at all. And, sir, we teach not as ye do, to believe in the sacrament or in the holy church, but to believe the sacrament and holy church.

**More.** *He teacheth, that faith sufficeth unto salvation, without good works.*

**Tindal.** The Scripture saith, that as soon as a man repenteth of evil, and believeth in Christ's blood, he obtaineth mercy immediately, because he should love God; and of that love do good works, and that he tarrieth not in sin still, till he have done good works, and then is first forgiven for his works sake, as the pope beareth his in hand, excluding the virtue of Christ's blood. For a man must be first reconciled unto God by Christ, and in God's favour, ere his works can be good and pleasant in the sight of God. But we say not, as some damnably lie on us, that we should do evil to be justified by faith, as thou mayst see (Rom. iii.), how they said of the Apostles for like preaching.

**More.** *He calleth it sacrilege to please God with good works.*

Tindal. To refer the work unto the person of God, to buy out thy sin therewith, is to make an idol of God, or a creature. But if thou refer thy work unto thy neighbour's profit, or taming of thine own flesh, then thou pleasest God therewith.

More. *Item, that man can do no good work.*

Tindal. It is false. But he saith, a man can do no good work, till he believe that his sins are forgiven him in Christ, and till he love God's law, and have obtained grace to work with. And then saith he, that we cannot do our works so perfectly, by the reason of our corrupt flesh, but that there is some imperfectness therein, as in the works of them that are not their craft's master. Which is yet not reckoned, because they do their good wills, and are scholars, and go to school to learn to do better.

More. *Item, that the good and righteous man sinneth alway in doing well.*

Tindal. In all his works there lacketh somewhat, and is a fault, until he do them with as great love unto his neighbour as Christ did for him, and as long as there is more resistance in his flesh than was in Christ's, or less hope in God; and then no longer.

More. *Item, that no sin damneth a man, save unbelief.*

Tindal. Whatsoever a man hath done, if he repent and believe in Christ, it is forgiven him. And so it followeth, that no sin damneth, save there, where there is no belief.

More. *Item, that we have no freewill to do ought therewith, though the grace of God be joined thereto, and that God doth all in us both good and bad, and we do but suffer, as wax doth of the workman.*

Tindal. First, where he affirmeth that we say, our will is not free to do good, and to help to compel the members, when God hath given us grace to love his laws, is false. But we say, that we have no free will

to captivate our wits and understanding, to believe the pope in whatsoever he saith, without reason given, when we find in the Scripture contrary testimony, and see in him so great falsehood and deeds so abominable, and thereto all the signs, by which the Scripture teacheth us to know antichrist.

And we affirm, that we have no free will to prevent God and his grace, and before grace prepare ourselves thereto, neither can we consent unto God, before grace be come. For until God have prevented us and poured the spirit of grace into our souls to love his laws, and hath graven them in our hearts by the outward ministration of his true preacher, and inward working of his Spirit, or by inspiration only, we know not God as he is to be known, nor feel the goodness, nor any sweetness in his law. How then can we consent thereto? Saith not the text, that we can do no good while we be evil, and they which seek glory and to climb in honour above their brethren, cannot believe the truth, and that whores, thieves, murderers, extortioners, and such like, have no part in the kingdom of God and Christ, nor any feeling thereof? And who shall take those diseases from them? God only through his mercy, for they cannot put off that complexion of themselves, until they be taught to believe and to feel that it is damnable, and to consent unto the contrary living.

And unto the second part I answer, that in respect of God, we do but suffer only and receive power to do all our deeds, whether we do good or bad, as Christ answered Pilate that he "could have no power against him, except it were given him from above," and no more could Judas neither. But in respect of the thing, wherein or wherewith we work and shed out again the power we have received, we work actually. As the axe doth nothing in respect of the hand that heweth, save receive: but in respect of

the tree that is cut, it worketh actually and poureth out again the power that it hath received.

More. *Item, that God is author of good and evil; as well of the evil will of Judas in betraying Christ, as of the good will of Christ in suffering his passion.*

Tindal. The power, wherewith we do good and evil, is of God, and the will is of God. As the power, which the murderer abuseth, and wherewith he killeth a man unrighteously, is of God, and the will wherewith he willeth it. But the wickedness of his will and crookedness or frowardness, wherewith he slayeth unrighteously to avenge himself and to satisfy his own lusts, and the cause why he knoweth not the law of God and consenteth not to it (which law should have informed his will and corrected the crookedness thereof, and have taught him to use his will and his power aright), is his blindness' fault only, and not God's. Which blindness the devil hath poisoned him with.

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*On Freewill.—At Page 328.*

In the tenth chapter, *More* envieth and railleth against that which neither he nor any fleshly-minded Papist can understand, as they have no power to consent unto the laws of God, which herein appeareth, that they compel their brethren, which are as good as they, to do and believe what they lust, and not what God commandeth. He affirmeth, that Martin Luther saith, *how that we do no sin ourselves with our own will, but that God sinneth in us, and useth us as a dead instrument, and forceth us thereunto, and damnableth us, not for our own deeds but for his, and for his own pleasure, as he compelleth unto sin for his pleasure, or rather he for his pleasure sinneth in us.* I say, that a man sinneth voluntarily, but the power of

the will and of the deed is of God, and every will and deed are good in the nature of the deed, and the evilness is a lack that there is; as the eye, though it be blind, is good in nature, in that it is such a member created for such a good use; but it is called evil, for lack of sight. And so are our deeds evil, because we lack knowledge and love to refer them unto the glory of God. Which lack cometh of the devil that blindeth us with lusts and occasions, that we cannot see the goodness and righteousness of the law of God and the means how to fulfil it. For could we see it, and the way to do it, we should love it naturally, as a child doth a fair apple. For a child, when as a man sheweth him a fair apple, and will not give it him, weepeth, so should we naturally mourn, when the members would not come forward to fulfil the law, according to the desire of our hearts. For Paul saith (2 Cor. iv.); "If our Gospel be hid, it is hid unto them that perish, among which the god of this world hath blinded the wits of the unbelievers, that the light of the glorious Gospel of Christ should not shine to them." And Christ saith, that the birds eat up the seed sown upon the way, and interpreteth by the seed, the word, and by the fowls, the devil. So that the devil blindeth us with falsehood and lies, which is our worldly wisdom, and therewith stoppeth out the true light of God's wisdom, which blindness is the evilness of all our deeds.

And on the other side, that another man loveth the laws of God, and useth the power that he hath of God well, and referreth his will and his deeds unto the honour of God, cometh of the mercy of God, which hath opened his wits, and shewed him light to see the goodness and righteousness of the law of God, and the way that is in Christ to fulfil it, whereby he loveth it naturally, and trusteth to do it. Why doth God open one man's eyes and not another's? Paul



(Rom. ix.) forbiddeth to ask why. For it is too deep for man's capacity. God we see is honoured thereby, and his mercy is set out, and the more seen in the vessels of mercy. But the Papists can suffer God to have no secret hid to himself. They have searched to come to the bottom of his bottomless wisdom, and because they cannot attain to that secret, and be too proud to let it alone, and to grant themselves ignorant with the Apostle, that knew no other than God's glory in the elect; they go and set up freewill with the heathen philosophers, and say that a man's freewill is the cause, why God chooseth one and not another, contrary unto all the Scriptures. Paul saith, it cometh not of the will nor of the deed, but of the mercy of God. And they say, that every man hath at the least way power in his freewill, to deserve that power should be given him of God to keep the law. But the Scripture testifieth that Christ hath deserved for the elect, even then when they hated God, that their eyes should be opened to see the goodness of the law of God, and the way to fulfil it, and forgiveness of all that is passed, whereby they are drawn to love it and to hate sin.

I ask the Papists one question; whether the will can prevent a man's wit, and make the wit see the righteousness of the law, and the way to fulfil it in Christ? If I must first see the reason why, ere I can love; how shall I with my will do that good thing that I know not of? How shall I thank God for the mercy that is laid up for me in Christ, ere I believe it? For I must believe the mercy, ere I can love the work. Now faith cometh not of our freewill, but is the grace of God given us by grace, ere there be any will in our hearts to do the law of God. And why God giveth it not every man, I can give no reckoning of his judgments. But well I wot, I never deserved it, nor prepared myself unto it, but ran

another way clean contrary in my blindness, and sought not that way, but he sought me, and found me out, and shewed it me, and therewith drew me to him. And I bow the knees of mine heart unto God night and day, that he will shew it all other men. And I suffer all that I can, to be a servant to open their eyes.

For well I wot, they cannot see of themselves, before God have prevented them with his grace. For Paul saith (Phil. i.); "He that began a good work in you shall continue, or bring it unto a full end;" so that God must begin to work in us: and (Phil. ii.), God it is that worketh both the willing and also the bringing to pass. And it must needs be, for God must open mine eyes, and shew me somewhat, and make me see the goodness of it, to draw me to him, ere I can love, consent, or have any actual will to come.

And when I am willing, he must assist me, and help to tame my flesh, and to overcome the occasions of the world, and the power of the fiends. God therefore hath a special care for his elect, in so much that he will shorten the wicked days for their sakes, in which no man, if they should continue, might endure. And Paul suffereth all for the elect (2 Tim. ii.). And, "God's sure foundation standeth (saith Paul), God knoweth his." So that, refuse the truth who shall, God will keep a number of his mercy, and call them out of blindness, to testify the truth unto the rest, that their damnation may be without excuse.

The Turk, the Jew, and the Papist build upon freewill, and ascribe their justifying unto their works. The Turk, when he hath sinned, runneth to the purifyings or ceremonies of Mahomet, and the Jew to the ceremonies of Moses, and the Pope unto his own ceremonies, to fetch forgiveness of their sins;

and the Christian goeth through repentance toward the law, unto the faith that is in Christ's blood.

And the Pope saith, that the ceremonies of Moses justified not, compelled with the words of Paul. And how then should his justify? Moses' sacraments were but signs of promises of faith, by which faith the believers were justified; and even so are Christ's also. And now, because the Jews have put out the signification of their sacraments, and put their trust in the works of them, therefore they are idolaters; and so is the Pope for like purpose. The Pope saith that Christ died not for us, but for the sacraments, to give them power to justify. O! Antichrist.

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*The Order of our Justification.—At Page 330.*

Mark, therefore, the way toward justifying or forgiveness of sin, is the law. God causeth the law to be preached unto us, and writeth it in our hearts, and maketh us by good reasons feel that the law is good, and ought to be kept, and that they which keep it not are worthy to be damned. And on the other side, I feel that there is no power in me to keep the law, whereupon it would shortly follow that I should despair, if I were not shortly holpen. But God, which hath begun to cure me, and hath laid that corrosive unto my sores, goeth forth in his cure, and setteth his Son Jesus before me and all his passions and death, and saith to me: this is my dear Son, and he hath prayed for thee, and hath suffered all this for thee, and for his sake I will forgive thee all that thou hast done against this good law, and I will heal thy flesh, and teach thee to keep this law, if thou wilt learn. And I will bear with thee, and take all aworth that thou doest, till thou canst do better. And in the mean season, notwithstanding

thy weakness, I will yet love thee no less than the angels in heaven, so thou wilt be diligently learn. And I will assist thee, and keep thee, defend thee, and be thy shield, and care for thee.

And the heart here beginneth to mollify and soft, and to receive health, and believeth the mercy of God, and in believing is saved from the fear of everlasting death, and made sure of everlasting life, and then being overcome with this kindness, beginneth to love again, and to submit herself unto the law of God, to learn them and to walk in them.

Note, now the order; first, God giveth me grace to see the goodness and righteousness of the law, mine own sin and unrighteousness. Out of this knowledge springeth repentance. Now, repentance teacheth me not that the law is good, and I evil, but is a light that the Spirit of God hath given me, of which light repentance springeth.

Then the same Spirit worketh in mine heart and confidence to believe the mercy of God and the truth, that he will do as he hath promised: and this belief saveth me. And immediately out of that springeth love toward the law of God again. whatsoever a man worketh of any other love than this, it pleaseth not God, nor is that love godly.

Now love doth not receive this mercy, but only, out of which faith love springeth, by which I pour out again upon my neighbour that good which I have received of God by faith. Here we see that I cannot be justified without repentance, yet repentance justifieth me not. And hereof yet we see that I cannot have a faith to be justified and saved except love spring thereof immediately: and yet love justifieth me not before God. For my natural love to God again doth not make me first see and feel the kindness of God in Christ, but faith through prayer. For we love not God first, to compel him

love again: but he loved us first, and gave his Son for us, that we might see, love, and love again, saith St. John in his first Epistle. Which love of God to usward, we receive by Christ through faith, saith Paul.

And this example have I set out for them in divers places, but their blind Popish eyes have no power to see it, covetousness hath so blinded them. And when we say, faith only justifieth us, that is to say, receiveth the mercy wherewith God justifieth us and forgiveth us, we mean not faith which hath no repentance, and faith which hath no love unto the laws of God again and unto good works, as wicked hypocrites falsely belie us.

For how then should we suffer, as we do, all misery, to call the blind and ignorant unto repentance and good works, which now do but consent unto all evil, and study mischief all day long, for all their preaching the justifying of good works. Let *M. More* improve this with his sophistry, and set forth his own doctrine, that we may see the reason of it and walk in light.

Hereof ye see what faith it is that justifieth us. The faith in Christ's blood of a repenting heart toward the law, doth justify us only, and not all manner of faiths. Ye must understand, therefore, that ye may see to come out of *More's* blind maze, how that there be many faiths, and that all faiths are not one faith, though they are all called with one general name. There is a story-faith without feeling in the heart, wherewith I may believe the whole story of the Bible, and yet not set mine heart earnestly thereto, taking it for the food of my soul, to learn to believe and trust God, to love him, dread him, and fear him by the doctrine and examples thereof, but to seem learned and to know the story, to dispute and make merchandise, after as we have examples

enough. And the faith wherewith a man doth miracles, is another gift than the faith of a repenting heart to be saved through Christ's blood, and the one no kin to the other, though *M. More* would have them so appear. Neither is the devil's faith and the Pope's faith (wherewith they believe that there is a God, and that Christ is, and all the story of the Bible, and may yet stand with all wickedness and full consent to evil) kin unto the faith of them that hate evil, and repent of their misdeeds, and acknowledge their sins, and are fled with full hope and trust of mercy unto the blood of Christ.

And when he saith, *if faith certify our hearts that we are in the favour of God, and our sins forgiven, and become good ere we do good works, as the tree must be first good ere it bring forth good fruit, by Christ's doctrine, then we make good works but a shadow, wherewith a man is never the better.* Nay, sir, we make good works, fruits whereby our neighbour is the better, and whereby God is honoured, and our flesh tamed. And we make of them sure tokens whereby we know that our faith is no feigned imagination and dead opinion, made with captivating our wits after the Pope's traditions, but a lively thing wrought by the Holy Ghost.

And when he disputeth, *if they that have faith have love unto the law, and purpose to fulfil it, then faith alone justifieth not*, how will he prove that argument? He juggleth with this word *alone*: and would make the people believe that we said, how a bare faith that is without all other company, of repentance, love, and other virtues, yea, and without God's Spirit too, did justify us, so that we should not care to do good. But the Scripture so taketh not alone, nor we so mean, as *M. More* knoweth well enough. When a horse beareth a saddle, and a man thereon, we may well say, that the horse

only and alone beareth the saddle, and is not holper of the man in bearing thereof. But he would make men understand that we meant, the horse bears the saddle empty and no man thereon: let him mark this, to see his ignorance, which would God, were not coupled with malice. Every man that hath wit, hath a will too, and then by *M. More's* argument, wit only giveth not the light of understanding. Now the conclusion is false, and the contrary true. For the wit without help of the will giveth the light of the understanding, neither doth the will work at all, until the wit have determined this or that to be good or bad. Now what is faith save a spiritual light of understanding, and an inward knowledge or feeling of mercy, out of which knowledge love doth spring? But love brought me not that knowledge, for I knew it ere I loved. So, that love in the process of nature, to dispute from the cause to the effect, helpeth not at all to the feeling that God is merciful to me, no more than the loving heart and kind behaviour of an obedient wife to her husband maketh her see his love and kindness to her, for many such have unkind husbands. But by his kind deeds to her, doth she see his love. Even so, my love and deeds make me not see God's love to me in the process of nature: but his kind deeds to me, in that he gave his Son for me, maketh me see his love, and to love again.

Our love and good works make not God first love us, and change him from hate to love, as the Turk, Jew, and vain Papist mean, but his love and deeds make us love, and change us from hate to love. For he loved us when we were evil, and his enemies, as testifieth Paul in divers places, and chose us, to make us good, and to shew us love, and to draw us to him, that we should love again.

The father loveth his child, when it hath no power to do good, and when it must be suffered to run

after his own lusts without law, and never loveth him better than then, to make him better, and to shew him love, to love again. If ye could see what is written in the first Epistle of John, though all the other Scripture were laid apart, ye should see all this.

And ye must understand, that we sometimes dispute forward, from the cause to the effect, and sometimes backward from the effect to the cause, and must beware that we are not therewith beguiled; we say, summer is come and therefore all is green, and dispute forward. For summer is the cause of the greenness. We say, the trees are green, and therefore summer is come, and dispute backward from the effect to the cause. For the green trees make not summer, but make summer known. So, we dispute backward; the man doth good deeds and profitable unto his neighbour, he must therefore love God: he loveth God, he must therefore have a true faith and see mercy.

And yet my works make not my love, nor my love my faith, nor my faith God's mercy: but contrary, God's mercy maketh my faith, and my faith my love, and my love my works. And if the Pope could see mercy, and work of love to his neighbour, and not sell his works to God for heaven after *M. More's* doctrine, we needed not so subtle disputing of faith.

And when *M. More* allegeth Paul to the Corinthians, to prove that faith may be without love, he proveth nothing, but jugglETH only. He saith, *it is evident by the words of Paul, that a man may have a faith to do miracles without love, and may give all his goods in alms without love, and give his body to burn for the name of Christ, and all without charity.* Well, I will not stick with him: he may so do without charity and without faith thereto. *Then a man may have faith without faith.* Yea, verily, because there may be many differences of faith, as I have



said, and not all faiths one faith, as *M. More* juggleth. We read in the works of St. Cyprian, that there were martyrs that suffered martyrdom for the name of Christ all the year long, and were tormented and healed again, and then brought forth afresh. Which martyrs believed, as ye do, that the pain of their martyrdom should be a deserving and merit enough not only to deserve heaven for themselves, but to make satisfaction for the sins of other men thereto, and gave pardons of their merits, after the ensample of the Pope's doctrine, and forgave the sins of other men, which had openly denied Christ, and wrote unto Cyprian, that he should receive those men that had denied Christ into the congregation again, at the satisfaction of their merits. For which pride Cyprian wrote to them, and called them the devil's martyrs, and not God's. Those martyrs had a faith without faith. For had they believed that all mercy is given for Christ's blood-shedding, they would have sent other men thither, and would have suffered their own martyrdom for love of their neighbours only, to serve them and to testify the truth of God in our Saviour Jesu unto the world, to save at the least way some, that is to wit, the elect, for whose sake Paul suffered all things, and not to win heaven. If I work for a worldly purpose, I get no reward in heaven: even so, if I work for heaven or a higher place in heaven, I get there no reward. But I must do my work for the love of my neighbour, because he is my brother, and the price of Christ's blood, and because Christ hath deserved it, and desireth it of me, and then my reward is great in heaven.

And all they which believe that their sins are forgiven them, and they received as the Scripture testifieth, unto the inheritance of heaven for Christ's merits, the same love Christ and their brethren for his sake, and do all things for their sakes only, not

once thinking of heaven when they work, but on their brethren's need. When they suffer themselves above might, then they comfort their soul with the remembrance of heaven, that this wretchedness shall have an end. And we shall have a thousand pleasures and rewards in heaven, not for the merits of our deservings, but given us freely for Christ's. And he that hath that love, hath the right faith, and he that hath that faith hath the right love. For I cannot love my neighbour for Christ's sake, except I first believe that I have received such mercy of Christ. Nor can I believe that I have received such mercy of Christ, but that I must love my neighbour for his sake, seeing that he so instantly desireth me.

And when he allegeth St. James, it is answered him in the Parable of the Mammon, and St. Augustine answereth him; and St. James expoundeth himself. For he saith in the first chapter, "God which begat us of his own will with the word of truth," which word of truth is his promise of mercy and forgiveness in our Saviour Jesus, by which he begat us, gave us life, and made us a new creature, through a fast faith. And James goeth and rebuketh the opinion and false faith of them that think it enough to be saved by, if they believe that there is but one God, and that Christ was born of a virgin, and a thousand things which a man may believe, and yet not believe in Christ, to be saved from sin through him. And that James speaketh of another faith than at the beginning appeareth by his ensample. The devils have faith, saith he: yea, but the devils have no faith that can repent of evil, or to believe in Christ to be saved through him, or that can love God and work his will of love. Now Paul speaketh of a faith that is in Christ's blood, to be saved thereby, which worketh immediately through love of the benefit received. And James, at the beginning, speaketh of a faith that

abideth trying, saying, "The trying of your faith worketh or causeth patience." But the faith of the devils will abide no trying, for they will not work God's will, because they love him not. And in like manner is it of the faith of them that repent not, or that think themselves without sin. For except a man feel out of what danger Christ hath delivered him, he cannot love the work. And therefore James saith right, that no such faith that will not work can justify a man.

And when Paul saith, "faith only justifieth:" and James, "that a man is justified by works, and not by faith only;" there is great difference between Paul's *only*, and James' *only*. For Paul's *only* is to be understood, that faith justifieth in the heart and before God, without help of works, yea, and ere I can work. For I must receive life through faith to work with, ere I can work. But James' *only* is this wise to be understood, that faith doth not so justify, that nothing justifieth save faith. For deeds do justify also. But faith justifieth in the heart and before God, and the deeds before the world only; and make the other seen, as ye may see by the Scripture.

For Paul saith (Rom. iv.); "If Abraham have works, he hath whereof to rejoyce, but not before God." For if Abraham had received those promises of deserving, then had it been Abraham's praise and not God's, as thou mayst see in the text: neither had God shewed Abraham mercy and grace, but had only given him his duty and deserving. But in that Abraham received all the mercy that was shewed him, freely through faith, out of the deservings of the seed that was promised him, as thou mayst see by Genesis and by the Gospel of John, where Christ testifieth, "that Abraham saw his day and rejoiced," and of that joy no doubt wrought, it is God's praise, and the glory of his mercy. And the same mayst thou

see by James, when he saith, "Abraham offered his son, and so was the Scripture fulfilled, that Abraham believed, and it was reckoned him for righteousness, and he was thereby made God's friend."

How was it fulfilled? Before God? Nay, it was fulfilled before God many years before, and he was God's friend many years before, even from the first appointment that was made between God and him. Abraham received promises of all mercy, and believed and trusted God, and went and wrought out of that faith. But it was fulfilled before us which cannot see the heart, as James saith, "I will shew thee my faith out of my works;" and as the angel said to Abraham, "Now I know that thou darest God." Not but that he knew it before, but for us spake he that, which can see nought in Abraham more than in other men, save by his works.

And what works meant James? verily, the works of mercy. As if a brother or a sister lack raiment or sustenance, and ye are not moved to compassion, nor feel their diseases, what faith have ye then? No faith (be sure) that feeleth the mercy that is in Christ. For they that feel that, are merciful again and thankful. But look on the works of our *spirituality*, which will not only be justified with works before the world, but also before God. They have had all Christendom to rule this eight hundred years, and as they only be anointed in the head, so, have they only been king and emperor; and have had all power in their hands, and have been the doers only and the leaders of those shadows, that have had the name of princes, and have led them whither they would, and have breathed into their brains what they listed. And they have wrought the world out of peace and unity, and every man out of his welfare, and are become alone well at ease, only free, only at liberty, only have all things, and only do nought.

therefore, only lay on other men's backs and bear nought themselves. And the good works of them that wrought out of faith, and gave their goods and lands to find the poor, them devour they also alone. And what works preach they? Only that are to them profitable, and whereby they reign in men's consciences, as God: to offer, to give to be prayed for, and to be delivered out of purgatory, and to redeem your sin of them, and to worship ceremonies, and to be shriven, and so forth.

And when *M. More* is come to himself, and saith, *the first faith and the first justifying is given us without our deserving*: God be thanked, and I would fain that he would describe to me what he meaneth by the second justifying. I know no more to do, than when I have received all mercy and all forgiveness of Christ freely, to go and pour out the same upon my neighbour.

More. "*David lost not his faith when he committed adultery.*"

Tindal. No, and therefore he could not continue in sin, but repented as soon as his fault was told him. But was he not reconciled by faith only, and not by deeds? Said he not, "Have mercy on me, Lord, for thy great mercy, and for the multitude of thy mercies put away my sin?" And again, "Make me hear joy and gladness, that the bones which thou hast broken may rejoice." That is, let me hear thy voice that my sin is forgiven, and then I am safe and will rejoice. And afterward he acknowledgeth that God delighteth not in sacrifices for sins, but that a troubled spirit and a broken heart are that which God requireth. And when the peace was made, he prayeth boldly and familiarly to God, that he would be good to Zion and Jerusalem, and saith that then last of all, when God hath forgiven us of mercy, and hath done us good for our evil, we shall offer sacrifice

of thanks to him again. So, that our deeds are but thanksgiving. When we have sinned, we go with a repenting heart unto Christ's blood, and there wash it off through faith. And our deeds are but thanksgiving to God, to help our neighbours at their need, for which our neighbours and each of them owe us as much again at our need. So, that the testament or forgiveness of sins is built upon faith in Christ's blood, and not on works. *M. More* will run to the Pope for forgiveness *a pœna et culpa* (from punishment and fault). By what merits doth the Pope that? By Christ's. And Christ hath promised all his merits to them that repent and believe, and not given them unto the Pope to sell. And in your absolutions ye oft absolve without joining of penance. He must have a purpose to do good works, will ye say. That condition is set before him to do, out of the mercy that he hath received, and not to receive mercy out of them. But the Papist cannot repent out of the heart; and therefore cannot feel the mercy that faith bringeth, and therefore cannot be merciful to their neighbours to do their works for their sakes. But they feign a sorrow for their sins in which they ever continue, and so mourn for them in the morning that they laugh in them ere mid-day again. And then they imagine them Popish deeds, to make satisfaction to God, and to make an idol of him.

And finally, that good works, as to give alms and such like, justify not of themselves is manifest. For as the good, which are taught of God, do them well, of very love to God and Christ and of their neighbours for Christ's sake, even so, the evil do them of vain glory, and a false faith wickedly, as we have examples in the Pharisees, so that a man must be good ere he can do good. And so is it of the purpose to do them: one's purpose is good and another's evil: so that we must be good, ere a good

purpose come. How then, to love the law of God and to consent thereto, and to have it written in thine heart, and to profess it, so that thou art ready of thine own accord to do it, and without compulsion, is to be righteous: that I grant, and that love may be called righteousness before God passive, and the life and quickness of the soul passive. And so far forth as a man loveth the law of God, so far forth he is righteous, and so much as he lacketh of love toward his neighbour after the example of Christ, so much he lacketh of righteousness. And that thing which maketh a man love the law of God, doth make a man righteous, and justifieth him effectually and actually, and maketh him alive, as a workman and cause efficient. Now what is it that maketh a man to love? Verily, not the deeds, for they follow and spring of love, if they be good. Neither the preaching of the law, for that quickeneth not the heart (Gal. iii.), but causeth wrath (Rom. iv.), and uttereth the sin only (Rom. iii.). And therefore saith Paul, that righteousness springeth not out of the deeds of the law into the heart, as the Jews and the Pope mean: but contrary, the deeds of the law spring out of the righteousness of the heart, if they be good. As when a father pronounceth the law, that the child shall go to school, it saith, Nay. For that killeth his heart and all his lusts, so that he hath no power to love it. But what maketh his heart alive to love it? Verily, fair promises of love and kindness, that it shall have a gentle school-master, and shall play enough, and shall have many things, and so forth. Even so, the preaching of faith doth work love in our souls, and make them alive, and draw our hearts to God. The mercy that we have in Christ doth make us love only, and only bringeth the spirit of life into our souls.

And therefore saith Paul, "We be justified by faith

and by grace without deeds :” that is, ere the deeds come. For faith only bringeth the spirit of life, and delivereth our souls from fear of damnation, which is in the law, and ever maketh peace between God and us, as oft as there is any variance between us. And finally, when the peace is made between God and us, and all forgiven through faith in Christ’s blood, and we begin to love the law, we were never the nearer except faith went with us, to supply out the lack of full love, in that we have promises, that the little we have is taken aworth and accepted till more come. And again, when our frailty hath overthrown us, and fear of damnation invaded our consciences, we were utterly lost, if faith were not by to help us up again, in that we are promised, that whensoever we repent of evil, and come to the right way again, it shall be forgiven for Christ’s sake. For when we are fallen, there is no testament made in works to come, that they shall save us. And therefore the works of repentance or of the sacraments can never quiet our consciences, and deliver us from fear of damnation.

And last of all in temptation, tribulation, and adversities, we perished daily, except faith went with us to deliver us, in that we have promises, that God will assist us, clothe us, feed us, fight for us, and rid us out of the hands of our enemies. And thus the righteous liveth ever by faith, even from faith to faith, that is, as soon as he is delivered out of one temptation another is set before him, to fight against, and to overcome through faith. The Scripture saith, “Blessed is the man whose transgression is forgiven and his sins hid, and unto whom the Lord reckoneth not unrighteousness.” So, that the only righteousness of him that can but sin, and hath nought of himself to make amends, is the forgiveness of sin, which faith only bringeth. And as far forth as we are unrighteous, faith only justifieth us actively, and



else nothing on our part. And as far forth as we have sinned, are in sin, or do sin, or shall sin, so far forth must faith in Christ's blood justify us only, and else nothing. To love, is to be righteous, so far forth as thou lovest, but not to make righteous, nor to make peace. To believe in Christ's blood with a repenting heart, is to make righteous, and the only making of peace and satisfaction to Godward. And thus because terms be dark to them, that are not expert and exercised, we alway set out our meaning with clear ensamples, reporting ourselves unto the hearts and consciences of all men.

More. *The blasphemous words of Luther seem to signify, that both John Baptist and our Lady (the Virgin Mary) were sinners.*

Tindal. John Baptist said to Christ (Mat. iii.), "I had need to be baptized of thee, and comest thou to me?" Wherefore did John confess that he had need to be washed and purged by Christ, of his holiness and good deeds? If not, when John said, "Behold the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world," he was not of that sort, nor had any sins to be taken away at any time, nor any part in Christ's blood which died for sinners only. "John came to restore all things," saith Christ. That is, he came to interpret the law of God truly, and to prove all flesh sinners, to send them to Christ, as Paul doth in the beginning of the Romans. Which law, if *M. More* could understand how spiritual it is, and what it requireth of us, he would not so dispute. And if there were no imperfectness in our Lady's deeds, why did Christ rebuke her (John, ii.), when he ought rather to have honoured his mother, and why did he make her seek him three days? Chrysostom dared to say that our Lady was now and then taken with a little vain glory. She looked for the promises of Him that should come and bless her, from what? She, be-

lieved to be saved by Christ, from what? This I grant, that our Lady, John Baptist, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Moses, and many like, did never consent to sin, to follow it : but had the Holy Ghost from the beginning. Never the later, while they followed the Spirit and wrought their best, yet chances met them by the way and temptations, that made their works come sometimes imperfectly to pass, as a potter that hath his craft never so well, meeteth a chance now and then, that maketh him fashion a pot amiss. So, that I think the perfectest of them all, as we have en-samples of some, were compelled to say with Paul ; “ That good that I would, I do not, and that evil that I would not, that I do.” I would not swear on a book, that if our Lady had been let slip, as the others were, and as hard opposed with as present death before her eyes, that she would not have denied some things, that she knew true ; yea, but she was preserved by grace that she was not. No, but though she were kept by grace from the outward deed, yet if there were such wickedness in her flesh, she had sin. And the grace was, that she knew it, and was meek to believe in Christ, to have it forgiven her, and to be preserved that it should not bud forth. John the Evangelist, when he was as holy as ever was John the Baptist, said, “ If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves.”

Then he compareth faith and deeds together, and wills that *faith should stand in no better service of right than deeds*. Yes, for the deeds are examined by the law, and therefore it is not enough to do them only, or to do them with love : but I must do them with as great love as Christ did for me, and as I receive a good deed at my need. But faith is under no law, and therefore be she never so feeble, she shall receive according to the truth of the promiser.

More. *What thing could we ask God of right, because we believe him?*

Tindal. Verily, all that he promiseth, may we be bold to ask of right and duty, and by good obligation.

More. *Your Dr. Ferman said, that all works be good enough in them God hath chosen.*

Tindal. I am sure it is untrue, for their best be not good enough, though God forgiveth them their evil of his mercy, at the repentance of their hearts.

Then he endeth in his school doctrine contrary unto all the Scripture; *that God remitteth not the sin of his chosen people, because that he hath chosen them not of his mercy, but of a towardness that is more in one than in another, saying, God saw before that Peter should repent, and Judas would despair, and therefore chose Peter.* If God chose Peter because he did repent, why chose he not Judas too, which repented as much as he, and acknowledged his sin, and brought the money again? O! this blindness, as God had wrought nothing in the repentance of Peter. Said not Christ before, that Peter should fall? And said he not, that he had prayed for him that he should be holpen up again? Christ prayed a strong prayer for Peter to help him up again, and suffered a strong death thereto. And before his death he committed them unto his Father, saying, "I have kept them in thy name, and I depart, keep them now from evil." Peter had a good heart to God, and loved his law, and believed in Christ, and had the Spirit of God in him, which never left him for all his fall. Peter sinned of no malice, but of frailty and sudden fear of death. And the goodness of God wrought his repentance, and all the means by which he was brought up again, at Christ's request. And Judas was never good, nor came to Christ for love of his doctrine, but of covetousness, nor did ever believe in Christ.

Judas was by nature and birth (as we all are) heir of the wrath of God, in whom the devil wrought his will, and blinded his heart with ignorance. In which ignorance and blindness he grew, as he grew in age, and fell deeper and deeper therein, and thereby wrought all his wickedness, and the devil's will, and perished therein. From which ignorance God purged Peter of his mercy, and gave him light and his Spirit to govern him, and not of any towardness that was in Peter of his own birth: but for the mercy that we have in the birth of Christ's death.

And how will *M. More* prove, that God chooseth not of his goodness, but of our towardness? What good towardness can we have and endeavour, that is altogether blind and carried away at the will of the devil, till the devil be cast out? Are we not robbed of all towardness in Adam, and are by nature made the children of sin, so that we sin naturally, and to sin is our nature? So that as now, though we would do well, the flesh yet sinneth naturally, neither ceaseth to sin, but so far forth as it is kept under with violence: even so, once our hearts sinned as naturally with full lust and consent unto the flesh, the devil possessing our hearts, and keeping out the light of grace. What good towardness and endeavour can we have to hate sin, as long as we love it? What good towardness can we have unto the will of God, while we hate it and are ignorant thereof? Can the will desire that which the wit seeth not? Can the will long for and sigh for that which the wit knoweth not of? Can a man take thought for that loss that he wotteth not of? What good endeavour can the Turk's children, the Jew's children, and the Pope's infants have, when they are taught all falsehood only, with like persuasions of worldly reason, to be all justified with works? It is not therefore, as Paul saith, of the running or willing, but of

the mercy of God, that a man is called and chosen to grace.

*The first grace, the first faith, and the first justifying is given us freely, saith M. More*; which I would fain wot how it will stand with his other doctrine, and whether he mean any other thing by choosing me to have God's Spirit given me, and faith to see the mercy that is laid up for me, and to have my sins forgiven without all deserving and preparing of myself. God did not see only that the thief was saved at Christ's death, should come thither, but God chose him to shew his mercy unto us, that should after believe, and provided actually, and wrought for the bringing of him thither that day, to make him see and to receive the mercy that was laid up for him in store, before the world was made.

In the twelfth chapter, in chaffing himself to heap lie upon lie, he uttereth his feelable blindness. For he asketh this question, *Wherefore serve exhortations unto faith, if the hearers have not liberty of their free will, by which, together with God's grace, a man may labour to submit the rebellion of reason unto the obedience of faith and credence of the word of God?* Whereof, ye see, that besides his grant, that reason rebelleth against faith, contrary to the doctrine of his first book, he wills, that the will shall compel the wit to believe. Which is as much to say, as the cart must draw the horses, and the son beget the father, and the authority of the church is greater than God's word. For the will cannot teach the wit, nor lead her, but followeth naturally: so, that whatsoever the wit judgeth good or evil, that the will loveth or hateth. If the wit see and lead straight, the will followeth. If the wit be blind and lead amiss, the will followeth clean out of the way. I cannot love God's word before I believe it, nor hate it, before I judge it false and vanity.

He might have wiselier spoken on this manner; wherefore serveth the preaching of faith, if the wit have no power to draw the will to love that, which the wit judgeth true and good? If the will be nought, teach the wit better, and the will shall alter and turn to good immediately. . . Blindness is the cause of all evil, and light the cause of all good: so, that where the faith is right, there the heart cannot consent unto evil, to follow the lusts of the flesh, as the Pope's faith doth. And this conclusion hath he half a dozen times in his book, that *the will may compel the wit and captivate it, to believe what a man lusteth*. Verily, it is like that his wits be in captivity, and for advantage tangled without holy fathers' sophistry.

His doctrine is after his own feeling, and as the profession of his heart is. For the Papists have yielded themselves to follow the lusts of their flesh, and compel their wit to abstain from looking on the truth, lest she should unquiet them, and draw them out of the puddle of their filthy voluptuousness. As a cart that is overladen, going up a hill, draweth the horses back, and, in a tough mire, maketh them stand still. And then the carter, the devil, which driveth them, is ever by, and whistleth unto them, and biddeth them captivate their understanding unto profitable doctrine, for which they shall have no persecution, but shall reign, and be kings, and enjoy the pleasures of the world at their own will.

CHAP. I.

Ver. 1, 2. *“That which was from the beginning declare we unto you, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we looked upon, and our hands have handled of the word of life. For the life appeared, and we have seen, and bear witness, and shew unto you that everlasting life, which was with the Father and appeared unto us.”*

IN that St. John saith, the thing which was from the beginning, and the everlasting life, that was with the Father, he witnesseth that Christ is very God, as he doth in the beginning of his Gospel, saying ; “The Word or the Thing, was at the beginning, and the Thing was with God, and that Thing was God, and all things were made by it.”

And when he saith, “Which we heard and saw with our eyes, and our hands handled him,” he testifieth that Christ is very man also, as he doth in the beginning of his Gospel, saying ; “The Word, or that Thing, was made flesh,” that is, became man. And thus we have, in plain and open words, a manifest article of our faith, that our Saviour Christ is very God and very man.

Which article, whosoever not only believeth, but also believeth in it, the same is the son of God, and hath everlasting life in him, and shall never come into condemnation, as it is written (John, i.) ; “He gave them power to be the sons of God, in that they believed in his name.” And (John, iii.), “He that believeth in the Son hath everlasting life.” And a little before in the said chapter ; “He that believeth

in him shall not be condemned." And to believe in the words of this article, is the eating of Christ's flesh and drinking his blood, of which is spoken (John, vi.) ; the words which I speak are Spirit and life, and the flesh profiteth not at all, meaning of the fleshly eating of his body, and fleshly drinking of his blood. There is therefore great difference between believing that there is a God, and that Christ is God and man, and to believe in God and Christ, God and man, and in the promises of mercy that are in him. The first is common to good and bad, and unto the devils thereto, and is called the faith and belief of the history. The second is proper unto the sons of God, and is their life, as it is written ; " The righteous liveth by faith," that is, in putting his trust, confidence, and whole hope, in the goodness, mercy, and help of God, in all adversities, bodily and ghostly, and all temptations, and even in sin and hell, how deep soever he be fallen therein.

But as he, which feeleth not his disease, can long for no health, even so, it is impossible for any man to believe in Christ's blood, except Moses have had him first in care, and with his law have robbed him of his righteousness, and condemned him unto everlasting death, and have shewed him under what damnation they are in by birth in Adam : and how all their deeds (appear they never so holy) are yet but damnable sin, because they can refer nothing unto the glory of God, but seek themselves, their own profit, honour, and glory. So, that repentance toward the law must go before this belief, and he which repenteth not, but consenteth unto the life of sin, hath no part in this faith.

And when John calleth Christ the everlasting life that was with the Father, he signifieth that Christ is our life, as after in the Epistle, and in the first also of his Gospel, saying ; " In him was life." For



until we receive life of Christ by faith, we are dead, and can be but dead, as saith John, iii. ; " He that believeth not in the Son, can see no life, but the wrath of God abideth upon him." Of which wrath we are heirs by birth, saith Paul (Eph. ii.). Of which wrath we are ignorant, until the law be published, and walk quietly after our lusts, and love God wickedly, that he should be content therewith, and maintain us therein, contrary unto his godly and righteous nature. But as soon as the law (whose nature is to utter sin, Rom. iii. and to set a man at variance with God) is preached, then we first awake out of our dream, and see our damnation, and have the law which is so contrary unto our nature, and grudge against God thereto, as young children do against their elders, when they first command : and count God a cruel tyrant, because of his law, in that he condemneth us for that thing which we cannot love, nor of love fulfil.

But when Christ is preached, how that God for his sake receiveth us to mercy, and forgiveth us all that is past, and henceforth reckoneth not unto us our corrupt and poisoned nature, and taketh us as his sons, and putteth us under grace and mercy, and promiseth that he will not judge us by the rigorousness of the law, but nurture us with all mercy and patience, as a father most merciful ; only if we will submit ourselves unto his doctrine, and learn to keep his laws : yea, and he will thereto consider our meekness, and whatsoever chanceth, never taketh away his mercy, till we cast off the yoke of our profession first, and run away with utter defiance, that we will never come more at school. Then our stubborn and hard hearts mollify and wax soft, and in the confidence and hope that we have in Christ and his kindness we go to God boldly, as unto our father and receive life, that is to say, love unto God and unto the law also.

**Ver. 3, 4.** *“ That which we have seen and heard, we declare unto you, that ye may have fellowship with us, and that our fellowship may be with the Father, and with his Son Jesus Christ. And these things we write unto you, that your joy may be full.”*

To bring unto the fellowship of God and Christ, and of them that believe in Christ, is the final intent of all the Scripture, why it was given of God unto man, and the only thing which all true preachers seek, and whereby ye shall ever know and discern the true word of God from all false, and counterfeited doctrine of vain traditions, and the true preacher from the wily hypocrite. We preach unto you (saith John) that everlasting life which we have heard, and in hearing received through faith and are sure of it, to draw you to us out of the fellowship that ye have with the damned devils in sinful lusts and ignorance of God; for we “ Seek you and not yours,” as saith Paul (2 Cor. xii.). We love you as ourselves in God, and therefore would have you fellows, and equal with us; and build you upon the foundation laid of the Apostles and Prophets, which is Christ Jesus; and make you of the household of God for ever, that ye and we, fellows and brethren, and coupled together in one spirit, in one faith, and in one hope, might have our fellowship thereby with God, and become his sons and heirs, and with Jesus Christ, being his brethren and coheirs; and to make your joy full through that glad tidings, as the angel said unto the shepherds (Luke, ii.); “ Behold, I shew you great joy that shall be unto all the people, how that there is a Saviour born unto you this day, which is Christ, the Lord.” And these tidings we bring you with the word of God only which we received of his Spirit, and out of the mouth of his Son as true messengers.

“ We preach not ourselves, but Christ our Lord, and us your servants for his sake ;” we do not love ourselves, to seek yours unto us, that after we had with wiles robbed you of all ye have, we should exalt ourselves over you, and separate ourselves from you, and make ourselves a several kingdom, free and frank, reigning over you, as heathen tyrants, and holding you in bondage to serve our lucre and lusts, entangling your conscience with doctrine of man, which draweth from God and Christ, and fearing you with the bug of excommunication, against God’s word : or if that served not, shaking a sword at you.

Ver. 5, 6, 7. *“ And this is the tidings, which we have heard of him, and declare unto you, that God is light, and in him is no darkness at all. If we say that we have fellowship with him, and yet walk in darkness, we lie, and do not the truth. But and if we walk in light, as he is in the light, then have we fellowship together, and the blood of Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin.”*

As the devil is darkness and lies, so, is God light and truth only, and there is no darkness of falsehood and consenting to wickedness in him. And the brightness of his light is his word and doctrine, as the cxix. Psalm saith : “ Thy word is a lantern unto my feet, and a light to my paths.” And Christ is the light that lighteneth all men. And the Apostles are called the light of the world, because of the doctrine. And all that know truth are light. “ Ye were once darkness (saith Paul, Eph. v.), but now light in the Lord, walk therefore as the children of light.” And good works are called the fruits of light. And all that live in ignorance are called darkness, as he saith afterward, “ He that hateth his brother walketh

in darkness." For if the light of the glorious Gospel of Christ did shine in his heart, he could not hate his brother.

By walking, understand, consenting, doing, and working. If then we walk in darkness, that is, consent and work wickedness, and say, we have fellowship with God, we lie. For to have fellowship with him, is to know, and consent, and profess his doctrine in our hearts. Now, if the commandments of God be written in our hearts, our members cannot but practise them and shew the fruit. So, whether light or darkness be in the heart, it will appear in the walking. For though our members be never so dead unto virtue, yet if our souls acknowledge the truth, and consent unto righteousness, we have the spirit of life in us. And Paul saith (Rom. viii.); "If the Spirit of him that raised up Jesus from death be in you, then will he that raised up Jesus from death, quicken your mortal bodies by the reason of the Spirit that dwelleth in you." So, that it is not possible for him, that knoweth the truth, and consenteth thereto, to continue in sin. And then finally, if we have the light in our hearts, and walk therein, then we have fellowship with God, and are his sons and heirs, and are purged from all sins through Christ's blood.

Ver. 8. *"If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and truth is not in us."*

If we think there is no sin in us, we are beguiled, and blind, and the light of God's word is not in us, and we either follow sin, as beasts without conscience at all, or if we see the gross sins, as murder, theft, and adultery, yet we have hanged a vail of false glosses upon Moses' face, and see not the brightness of the law, how, that it requireth of us as pure a heart to

God, and as great love unto our neighbours as was in our Saviour Jesus, and ceaseth not before to condemn us as sinners.

Ver. 9. *“ If we acknowledge our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness.”*

If we confess our sins, not in the priest's ear (though that tradition, restored unto the right use, were not damnable), but in our hearts to God with true repentance and fast belief; then is he faithful to forgive and to purge us, because of his merciful truth and promise. For he promised Abraham, that in his seed all the world should be blessed from the curse of sin. And hath abundantly renewed his everlasting mercy unto us in the New Testament, promising that our sins shall be forgiven us in Christ's blood, if we repent and trust thereto.

Ver. 10. *“ If we say we have not sinned, we make him a liar, and his word is not in us.”*

For his word testifieth against us, that we are all sinners, yea, and else Christ died in vain. Solomon saith (1 Kings, viii.), that “ There is no man that sinneth not against God.” And Paul proveth by the authority of Scripture unto the Romans, that we are all sinners without exception. And the Scripture witnesseth that we are damnable sinners, and that our nature is to sin. Which corrupt and poisoned nature, though it be begun to be healed, yet it is never thorough whole, until the hour of death. For the which cause, with all our best fruits, there grow weeds among. Neither can there be any deed so perfect, that could not be amended. When a blind bungler wondereth at his glorious works, a cunning workman, that hath a clear judgment, perceiveth

that it is impossible to make a work that could not be made better. Now, the law requireth works of us in the highest degree of perfection, and ceaseth not to accuse us, until our works flow naturally, as glorious in perfection as the works of Christ. And Christ teacheth us to pray in our Paternoster (Lord's prayer): "Forgive us our trespasses as we forgive our trespassers." Whereby ye may easily understand, that we sin daily, one against another, and all against God. Christ taught also to pray that our Father should not let us slip into temptation: signifying, that our nature cannot but sin, if occasions be given, except that God of his especial grace keep us back. Which readiness to sin is damnable sin in the law of God. David prayeth (Psal. lxi.), "Let not the tempest drown me, let me not fall into the bottom, and let not the pit shut her mouth upon me:" as who should say: first keep me, O God, from sinning, then if I shall chance to fall, as no flesh can escape, one time or other, then call me shortly back again, and let me not sink too deep therein: and though I yet fall never so deep, yet, Lord, let not the way of mercy be stopped: signifying, that it is impossible to stand of ourselves, and much less to rise again. Which impotency and feebleness is damnable in the law of God, except that we saw it, and repented, and were fled to Christ for mercy.

## CHAP. II.

Ver. 1. *"My little children, I write these things unto you, that ye sin not. And though any man sin, yet we have an advocate with the Father, even Jesus Christ, which is righteous."*

I write unto you on the one side, that God is light, and therefore that no man which willingly walketh in the unfruitful works of darkness, hath any fellowship

with that light, or part in the blood of his Son. And this I write and testify unto you, my dear children, that ye sin not: that is, that ye consent not unto sin, nor should sin of lust and purpose maliciously: but contrariwise, that ye fear God, and resist sin with all your might and power, according as ye have promised. For whosoever sinneth of purpose after the knowledge of truth, the same sinneth against the Holy Ghost remediless. (Heb. vi.)

And on the other side, I testify unto you, that we are alway sinners, though not of purpose and malice, after the nature of damned devils, but of infirmity and frailty of our flesh, which flesh not only letteth us, that our works cannot be perfect, but also now and then through manifold occasions and temptations carrieth us clean out of the right way, spite of our hearts. Howbeit (I say), if when the rage is past, we turn unto the right way again, and confess our sins unto our Father, with a repenting heart, he hath promised us mercy, and is true to fulfil it. So, that if we sin not devilishly against the Holy Ghost, refusing the doctrine which we cannot improve, that it should not be true; but after the frailty of man, there is no cause to despair: for we have an Advocate and an Intercessor with the Father, even Jesus Christ, that is righteous.

The name of our Advocate is Jesus, that is to say, a Saviour. "Call his name Jesus (said the angel to Joseph): for he shall save his people from their sins." (Mat. i.) And this Advocate and our Jesus to save us from our sins, continueth ever, as it is written (Heb. vii.), and hath an everlasting office, to make an atonement for sin: by the reason whereof (saith the text) he is able ever to save them that come to God through him, with repentance and faith, and liveth ever to speak for us. And besides that, our Jesus is God, and Almighty. He took our nature

upon him, and felt all our infirmities and sicknesses, and in feeling learned to have compassion on us, and for compassion cried mightily in prayers to God the Father for us, and was heard. And the voice of the same blood that once cried, not for vengeance as Abel's, but for mercy only, and was heard, crieth now and ever, and is ever heard, as oft as we call unto remembrance, with repenting faith, how that it was shed for our sins. He is also called *Christus*, that is to say, King anointed with all might and power over sin, death, and hell, and over all sins, so that none that flieth unto him shall ever come into judgment of damnation. He is anointed with all fulness of grace, and hath all the treasures and riches of the Spirit of God in his hand, with which he blesseth all men, according to the promise made to Abraham, and is thereto merciful to give unto all that call on him. And how much he loveth us, I report me unto all the ensamples of his deeds.

And he is righteous, both toward God, in that he never sinned, and therefore hath obtained all his favour and grace: and also toward us, in that he is true to fulfil all the mercy that he hath promised us, even unto the uttermost jot.

*Ver. 2. "And he is the satisfaction for our sins, and not for ours only, but also for all the world's."*

That I call satisfaction, the Greek calleth, *Ilasmus*, and the Hebrew, *Copar*; and it is first taken for the assuaging of wounds, sores, and swellings, and the taking away of pain and smart of them. And thence is borrowed for the pacifying and assuaging of wrath and anger, and for an amends-making, a contenting, a satisfaction, a ransom, and making at one, as it is to be seen abundantly in the Bible. So, that Christ is a full contenting, satisfaction, and ransom for our



sins. And not for ours only, which are Apostles and Disciples of Christ, while he was yet here: or for ours, which are Jews or Israelites, and the seed of Abraham; or for ours, that now believe at this present time; but for all men's sins, both for their sins which went before and believed the promises to come, and for ours, which have seen them fulfilled; and also for all them which shall afterward believe unto the world's end, of whatsoever nation or degree they are. For Paul commandeth (1 Tim. ii.) to pray for all men and all degrees, saying, that is acceptable unto our Saviour God, who will have all men saved and come to the knowledge of the truth, that is, some of all nations and all degrees, and not the Jews only. For (saith he) "There is one God, and one Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus, who gave himself a redemption and full satisfaction for all men."

Let this therefore be an undoubted article of thy faith, not of an history faith, as thou believest a jest of Alexander, or of the old Romans; but of a lively faith and belief, to put thy trust and confidence in, and to buy and sell thereon, as we say, and to have thy sins taken away, and thy soul saved thereby, if thou hold it fast; and to continue ever in sin, and to have thy soul damned, if thou let it slip; that our Jesus, our Saviour that saveth his people from their sins, and our Christ, that is, our King over all sin, death, and hell, anointed with fulness of all grace and with the Spirit of God, to distribute unto all men, hath, according unto the Epistle to the Hebrews and all the Scripture, in the days of his mortal flesh, with fasting, praying, suffering, and crying to God mightily for us, and with shedding his blood, made full satisfaction both from punishment and fault (with our holy father's leave) for all the sins of the world; both of theirs that went before, and of theirs that

come after in the faith ; whether it be original sin, or actual ; and not only the sins committed with consent to evil in time of ignorance before the knowledge of the truth ; but also the sins done of frailty, after we have forsaken evil and consented to the laws of God in our hearts, promising to follow Christ, and walk in the light of his doctrine.

He saveth his people from their sins (Mat. i.), and that he only. So that there is no other name to be saved by. (Acts, iv.) And “ Unto him bear all the Prophets record, that all that believe in him shall receive remission of their sins, in his name.” (Acts, x.) And by him only we have an entering in unto the Father and unto all grace. (Eph. ii. iii. and Rom. v.) And as many as come before him are thieves and murderers. (John, x.) That is, whosoever preacheth any other forgiveness of sin, than through faith in his name, the same slayeth the soul.

This to be true, not only of original, but of actual, and as well of that we commit after our profession, as before, mayst thou evidently see by the ensamples of the Scripture. Christ forgave the woman taken in adultery (John, viii.), and another whom he healed. (John, v.) And he forgave publicans and open sinners, and put none to do penance, as they call it, for to make satisfaction for the sin, which he forgave through repentance and faith ; but enjoined them the life of penance, the profession of their baptism, to tame the flesh in keeping the commandments, and that they should sin no more. And those sinners were, for the most part, Jews, and had their original sin forgiven them before, through faith in the testament of God. Christ forgave his Apostles their actual sins after their profession, which they committed in denying him, and put none to do penance for satisfaction. Peter (Acts, ii.) absolveth

the Jews through repentance and faith from their actual sins which they did in consenting unto Christ's death, and enjoined them no penance to make satisfaction. Paul also had his actual sins forgiven him, freely through repentance and faith, without mention of satisfaction. (Acts, ix.) So, that according unto this present text of John, if it chance us to sin of frailty, let us not despair, for we have an Advocate and Intercessor, a true Attorney, with the Father, Jesus Christ righteous toward God and man, and is the reconciling and satisfaction for our sins.

For Christ's works are perfect, so, that he hath obtained us all mercy, and hath set us in the full state of grace and favour of God ; and hath made us as well beloved as the angels of heaven, though we are yet weak. As the young children, though they can do no good at all, are yet as tenderly beloved as the old. And God for Christ's sake hath promised, that whatsoever evil we shall do, yet, if we turn and repent, he will never more think on our sins.

Thou wilt say, God forgiveth the displeasure, but we must suffer pain, to satisfy the righteousness of God. Ah ! then God hath a righteousness, which may not forgive pain and all, that the poor sinner should go scot-free without aught at all. God was unrighteous to forgive the thief his pain and all, through repentance and faith, unto whom, for lack of leisure, was no penance enjoined. And my faith is, that whatsoever example of mercy God hath shewed one, that same he hath promised all ; yea, will he peradventure forgive me, but I must make amends ? If I owe you twenty pounds, ye will forgive me, that is, ye will no more be angry with me, but I shall pay you the twenty pounds. O Popish forgiveness, with whom it goeth after the common proverb, no penny, no pardon. His fatherhood giveth pardon freely, but we must pay money abundantly.

Paul's doctrine is (Rom. iv.), "If a man work, it ought not to be said, that his hire was given him of grace or favour, but of duty: but to him that worketh not; but believeth in him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith" (he saith not his works, although he commandeth us diligently to work, and despiseth none that God commandeth), "his faith (saith he) is reckoned him for his righteousness." Confirming his saying with the testimony of the prophet David, in the xxxii. Psal. saying, "Blessed is the man, unto whom God imputeth or reckoneth not his sin:" that is to say, which man, although he is a sinner, yet God layeth not it to his charge for his faith's sake. And in the xi. chapter he saith; "If it come of grace, then it cometh not of works. For then were grace no grace," saith he: for it was a very strange speaking in Paul's ears, to call *that*, grace, that came of deserving of works; or *that*, deserving of works, which came by grace: for he reckoned works and grace to be contrary in such manner of speech. But our holy father hath coupled them together of pure liberality, I dare say, and not for covetousness. For as his holiness, if he have a cause against any man, immediately breatheth out an excommunication upon him, and will have satisfaction for the uttermost farthing, and somewhat above, to teach them to beware against another time, ere he will bless again from the terrible sentence of his heavy curse: even so, of that blessed complexion he describeth the nature of the mercy of God, that God will remit his anger to us upon the appointment of our satisfaction. When the Scripture saith, Christ is our righteousness, our justifying, our redemption, our atonement, that hath appeased God, and cleanseth us from our sins, and all in his blood, so that his blood is the satisfaction only.

Ver. 3. “ *And hereby are we sure that we know him, if we keep his commandments.*”

This is clean against the doctrine of them, which say, that we cannot know whether we are in the state of grace or no. John saith, if we keep his commandments, then we are sure that we know Christ is everlasting life. (John, xvii.) Then contrary to the Pope, Christian men have doctrine to know whether they are in grace or no.

The keeping of God's commandments certifieth us that we are in the state of grace. But our doctors have no doctrine to know when a man is in the state of grace, wherefore it is manifest that they keep not God's commandments, nor are in a state of grace, but of all unrighteousness.

Our doctors know not, whether they are in a state of grace. Our doctors keep men's commandments, therefore, men's commandments certify not that we are in a state of grace. Though thou have a devotion, to stick up a candle before a post, and so forth, yet thou canst never be sure thereby, that thou art in the favour of God. But if thou have devotion to help thy brother in all his misfortunes, because he is the image of God and price of Christ's blood, then thy devotion certifieth thee, that thou art in the favour of God or state of grace.

Ver. 4. “ *He that saith I know him, and yet keepeth not his commandments, is a liar, and the truth is not in him.*”

When our pharisees say, do as we bid you and not as we do, they testify that they keep not God's commandments, unto which testimony our eyes also bear

record: and they that keep not God's commandments, are liars and have no truth in them. And then, when they preach, they cannot but preach lies. And then, though they preach Christ, they preach him falsely, unto their fleshly advantage, and not our soul's health. And forasmuch as we may have no fellowship with them, that keep not God's commandments (1 Cor. v.); and inasmuch as all such are false prophets, void of all truth, it followeth that we ought to give our doctors no audience, though their defenders stood by them with their swords drawn, but rather to lay down our heads and stretch forth our necks to be slain.

Ver. 5. *“ He that keepeth his word; in him verily is the love of God perfect, and hereby know we, that we are in him.”*

That is, he that keepeth his commandments, loveth unfeignedly, and is thereby sure that he is in God. For to be in God is to believe in the mercy of God: and to believe in mercy is cause of love, and love cause of working. And, therefore, he that worketh for God's sake, is sure that he loveth, and that he trusteth in God: which is to be in God or in Christ. And as by wilful keeping of the commandments we are sure that we love God and believe in God; even so, through wilful breaking of them we may be sure that we neither love nor believe in him, and therefore, that we are not in him.

Ver. 6. *“ He that saith he abideth in him, ought to walk, as he walked.”*

All that are baptized in Christ, are washed in him, to put off pride, wrath, hate, and envy, with all their old conversation by which they oppressed their neighbours, and have promised to become every man

even as Christ himself unto his brethren in love and kindness, both in word and deed. They, therefore, which resist Christ's testament, and will not let it be known, and walk in the testament of the Pope, with unions, pluralities, and *totquots*; some one of them robbing ten parishes of the tenth of all their yearly increase, and withdrawing from them God's word, the food of their souls, and from the poor their daily sustenance, which ought to have their part in the tithes and other rents, when the preacher and other necessary ministers have had out their parts, a due and lawful stipend; are not in Christ. For Christ neither so walked, nor so taught.

Ver. 7. *“ Brethren, I write no new commandment unto you, but an old commandment, which ye had at the beginning. For an old commandment is the Word, which ye heard from the beginning.”*

I write no new precept, but only put you in remembrance of that old, which was taught you when ye were first baptized in Christ, to love each other as he did you. Which is an old commandment, and was given at the beginning of the world, and hath ever since been written in the heart of all that put their hope in God.

Ver. 8. *“ Again, a new commandment I write unto you, which is true in him and also in you: for the darkness is past, and the true light now shineth.”*

The devil hath sown his darkness in the field where this commandment should grow, and the weeds of men's traditions had overgrown the corn of this old commandment: so, that it was antiquated and clean out of knowledge. But Christ, the light of all true doctrine, now shineth, and hath scattered the darkness and hath plucked up the weeds by the roots,

and restored this old commandment again. And in him it is a true commandment, for he loved truly, And in you it is a true commandment, for ye for his sake, love one another truly also. And by the reason of this renewing, it is called a new commandment, as it is now called *new learning*, and may well so be: for it hath lain long in darkness, and that in such darkness, that many be shrined for holy saints, whose deeds and living, when thou lookest upon them in the light of this old doctrine, that now shineth again out of darkness, are most abominable.

Ver. 9. “ *He that saith he is in the light, and yet hateth his brother, is in darkness.*”

For whosoever feeleth his own damnation under the law, and believeth in the mercy that is in Christ, the same cannot but love Christ and his neighbour for his sake. And therefore he that hateth his brother for any offence done to him, the same seeth not what Christ hath done for him, but is in darkness still.

Ver. 10. “ *He that loveth his brother, abideth in the light, and there is none offending in him.*”

Abideth in the light, that is, continueth in the knowledge of Christ. And there is none offending in him, that is; first, he will willingly do nothing either in word or in deed that shall offend his brother: for love will not let him. And secondarily, if aught be done or said, that may be well done or said, he taketh it to the best, and is not offended. And thus ye see that the knowledge of Christ is cause of all goodness, and the ignorance of Christ, cause of all evil. And so, the doctrine of them is not false, which say, that faith in Christ is root of all godly virtue, and the cause of keeping the com-



mandments: and where faith is, there to be no sin, nor damnation: and that say, unbelief to be the mother of all vice, and cause of breaking the commandments, and to keep men in sin and damnation only, as faith only looseth us thence.

Ver. 11. *“ And he that hateth his brother is in darkness, and walketh in darkness, and knoweth not whither he goeth, for darkness hath blinded his eyes.”*

He that hateth his brother, is in the ignorance of Christ, and of his own sin, and without repentance and faith that his sins are forgiven him in Christ, and therefore is merciless unto his brother, whom Christ commanded him to pity and love. And in that ignorance he walketh; that is, worketh evil, and loveth the things of the world, and seeketh in them the lusts of the flesh, which are the quenching of the Spirit, and death of the soul, and for love of them hateth his brother. And this ignorance of Christ, which is unbelief, is the cause of all the wickedness that we do unto our brethren.

Ver. 12, 13. *“ I write unto you, little children, that your sins are forgiven you for his name's sake. I write unto you, fathers, that ye know him that was from the beginning. I write unto you, young men, how that ye have overcome the wicked.”*

I write unto you, that are young in the faith and yet weak, and therefore fall now and then, how that your sins are forgiven you, as soon as ye repent and reconcile yourselves unto your brethren, whom ye have offended, even for his name's sake only, and not for our own deeds, whether afore or after, or for any other man's deeds or satisfaction, save for his only.

I write unto you, that are fathers in the doctrine of God to teach others how that ye know him that was from the beginning, and is no new thing, though he newly received our nature. And through knowledge of him which is the only light and the door unto the knowledge of God, ye are become fathers in the Scriptures. Or else ye had never understood it, though ye had studied never so much, as it appeareth by the indurate Jews, and also by our own new pharisees, which persecute the Scripture and the true sense thereof, because they are drowned in the ignorance of Christ, as their deeds and contrary living well testify.

I write unto you, young men, that are strong in suffering persecutions, and fight for your profession, not with the sword, but with suffering, how that ye have overcome that wicked which poisoned the world at the beginning, and yet worketh in the children of darkness and unbelief: and that in believing the word of truth, as it followeth anon after.

Ver. 14. *"I write unto you, young children, how that ye know the Father. I write unto you, fathers, how that ye know him that was from the beginning. I write unto you, young men, that ye be strong; and the word of God dwelleth in you, and that ye have overcome the wicked."*

I write unto you, young children, how that ye know the Father, whom ye love through knowledge of the Son, or else you had never known him as a father, but as a judge and a tyrant, and had hated him. I write unto you, fathers, as before, how ye are fathers of all truth, in knowing the Son. Or else ye had ever continued in darkness, remediless.

I write unto you, young men, how that ye are strong, and that your strength is the word of God,

which dwelleth in your breast through faith, in which ye have overcome the wicked devil, and all his pomp: as it followeth (chap. v.), "This is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith."

Ver. 15, 16, 17. *"Love not the world, nor the things that are in the world. If a man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him. For all that is in the world, as the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of good, are not of the Father, but are of the world. And the world vanisheth away and the lust thereof; but he that doth the will of God abideth for ever."*

The love of the world quencheth the love of God. Balaam, for the love of the world, closed his eyes at the clear light which he well saw. For love of the world, the old Pharisees blasphemed the Holy Ghost, and persecuted the manifest truth, which they could not improve. For love of the world, many are this day fallen away, and many which stood on the truth's side, and defended it awhile, for love of the world have gotten them unto the contrary part, and are become the Pope's Mamelukes, and are waxed the most wicked enemies unto the truth, and most cruel against it. They know the truth, but they love the world. And when they espied, that the truth could not stand with the honours which they sought in the world, they hated it deadly, and both wittingly and willingly persecuted it, sinning against the Holy Ghost. Which sin shall not escape here unpunished, as it shall not be without damnation in the world to come, but shall have an end here with confusion and shame; and they only abide that do the will of the Father, which will is, that we believe in the Son, and love one another. Let them therefore that have the world's good (I might say the world's god) use it,

but not love it, that they may be ready to bestow it at the pleasure of God. And let them which have it not, desire it not, for it blindeth the eyes of the seeing. (Deut. xvii.) But let them put their trust in God, which shall not fail them, nor leave them destitute of raiment and food, which Paul counselleth to be content with. The rich (as James saith) persecute the true believers. The rich will never stand forth openly for the word of God. If of ten thousand there spring one Nicodemus, it is a great thing.

Ver. 18, 19. *“ Little children, it is now the last hour, and as ye have heard that antichrist should come; even so, now are many antichrists come already: whereby we know that it is the last hour. They went out of us, but were none of us: for had they been of us, they had continued with us. But that fortun'd, that it might appear, how they were not all of us.”*

Hour is here taken for time: the last hour is as much as to say, as the last time. Though the Apostles might not know when the last day shall be, and how long the world should endure, yet this was shewed them, and us by them, that antichrist should first come, and not only come, but also prevail and be received after a worldly manner, and reign over all, and set up a long continuing kingdom with damnable sects and wonderful kinds of hypocrisy, that is to say, falsehood cloaked under a contrary pretence, as testifieth Paul, and also Peter. Which antichrist began with the Apostles, and sowed his doctrine among the doctrine of the Apostles, preaching many things as the Apostles did, and adding ever somewhat of his own, that the weeds might ever grow up together with the corn. Of which John gathered a sign, that

the last day drew nigh, though he could not be sure, how long it were thereto.

Ver. 20, 21. *“ But ye have anointing of that holy, and know all things. I write not unto you as though ye knew not the truth, but as unto them that know it, and know that no lie is of truth.”*

Christ in the Scripture is called the Holy, because he only sanctifieth and halloweth us. And he is called Christ; that is to say, anointed, because he anointeth our souls with the Holy Ghost and with all the gifts of the same. Ye are not anointed with oil in your bodies, but with the Spirit of Christ in your souls; which Spirit teacheth you all truth in Christ, and maketh you to judge what is a lie, and what truth, and to know Christ from antichrist. For, except he taught your souls within, the pouring in of words at your ears were in vain. For they must be all taught of God. (John, vi.) And the things of God no man knoweth, save the Spirit of God: and the carnal man knoweth not the things of the Spirit of God: when, contrary, the spiritual that is anointed with the Spirit, judgeth all things. (1 Cor. ii.) And therefore we are forbidden to call us any master upon earth (Mat. xxiii.), seeing we have all one Master now in heaven, which only teacheth us with his Spirit, though by the administration and office of a faithful preacher. Which preacher yet cannot make his preaching spring in the heart, no more than a sower can make his corn grow, nor can say this man shall receive, and this not: but soweth the word only and committeth the growing to God, whose Spirit breatheth where he listeth, and maketh the ground of whose heart he lusteth fruitful, and chooseth whom he will at his own pleasure, and for no other cause known unto any man.

**Ver. 22, 23.** *“Who is a liar but he that denieth that Jesus is Christ? The same is antichrist that denieth the Father and the Son. Whosoever denieth the Son, the same hath not the Father.”*

“For no man knoweth the Father but the Son, and he to whom the Son sheweth him.” (Mat. xi.) Moreover, if thou know not the mercy that God hath shewed thee in Christ, thou canst not know him as a Father. Thou mayst well, besides Christ, know him as a tyrant. And thou mayst know him by his works, as the old philosophers did, that there is a God, but thou canst neither believe in his mercy, nor love his laws, which is his only worship in the Spirit, save by Christ.

**Ver. 24, 25.** *“Let therefore abide in you that which ye heard at the beginning. If that which ye heard at the beginning shall remain in you, then shall ye continue in the Son, and in the Father. And this is the promise, that he hath promised us, everlasting life.”*

If we abide in the old doctrine, which the Apostles taught, and hearken to no new: then abide we in the Son (for upon the Son build they us), and in the Father through confidence in the Son, and are heirs of everlasting life.

**Ver. 26, 27.** *“These things have I written unto you, because of them that deceive you. And the anointing that ye received of him dwelleth in you, and ye need not that any man teach you, but as that anointing teacheth you of all things, and is true, and is no lie: even as it hath taught you, so abide therein.”*

When a true preacher preacheth, the Spirit entereth the hearts of the elect, and maketh them feel

the righteousness of the law of God, and by the law  
 the poison of their corrupt nature, and thence lead-  
 eth them through repentance unto the mercy that is  
 in Christ's blood: and as an ointment healeth the  
 body, even so, the spirit through confidence and  
 trust in Christ's blood healeth the soul, and maketh  
 her love the law of God, and therefore is called  
 anointing or an ointment, and may well be signified  
 by the oil of our sacrament. But outward oil can  
 neither heal the soul, nor make her feel, save as a  
 sign, or as a bush, at a tavern-door quencheth a  
 man's thirst, neither is it a thing to put trust in.  
 Let us therefore follow the teaching of the Spirit,  
 which we have received (as Paul saith) an earnest, to  
 certify our hearts, and to make us feel the things of  
 God, and not cleave to the traditions of men, in  
 which is no feeling, but that one saith *so*, and ano-  
 ther *thus*, confirming their assertions with glorious  
 persuasions of wisdom, but not after the wisdom of  
 God, which reasons another denieth with contrary  
 sophisms: and so riseth brawling about vain words  
 without all certainty.

Ver. 28. "*And now, little children, abide in him,  
 that when he shall appear, we may have confidence,  
 and not be made ashamed of him at his coming.*"

Here are two things to be marked: one, if we  
 cleave unto Christ after the doctrine of the Apostles,  
 and as they build us upon him, we shall be bold and  
 sure of ourselves at his coming. As a servant which  
 in his master's absence doth only his master's com-  
 mandments, cannot be confounded at his coming  
 home again. But and if we follow men's doctrine,  
 how can we be bold? Yea, how should we not be  
 ashamed with our teachers, unto whom then he shall  
 say (when they boast themselves how that they have

been his vicars), I know you not, depart from me ye that have wrought wickedness, and under my name have brought in damnable sects, and have taught your disciples to believe in other things than in me. Now, the sum of all that the Apostles taught, and how they built us upon Christ, is the New Testament. But the Pope's doctrine is not there found, but improved. Confounded therefore shall he be; which witting and willing shutteth his eyes at the true light, and openeth them to believe his lies.

Another thing is this, all the Scripture maketh mention of the resurrection and coming again of Christ: and that all men, both they that go before, and they that come after, shall then receive their rewards together, and we are commanded to look every hour for that day. And what is done with the souls from their departing their bodies unto that day, doth the Scripture make no mention, save only that they rest in the Lord, and in their faith. Wherefore, he that determineth aught of the state of them, that be departed, doth but teach the presumptuous imaginations of his own brain: neither can his doctrine be any article of our faith. What God doth with them, is a secret laid up in the treasury of God. And we ought to be patient, being certified of the Scripture that they which die in the faith, are at rest, and ought no more to search that secret, than to search the hour of the resurrection, which God hath put only in his own power. But this remember, that the whole nature of man is poisoned and infected with sin. And the whole life of sin must be mortified. And the root of all sin and first vice we were infected with, is, that we would be wise where God hath not taught us, as ye see how Eve would have been as God, in the knowledge of good and bad. And therefore hath God hid many things in his power, and commanded that we shall search none of his se-



crets further, than he hath opened them in his Scripture, to mortify this poison of all poisons, the desire to appear wise, and that we be ashamed to be ignorant in any thing at all. Wherefore they, that violently make articles of the faith without God's word, are yet alive in the root of all sin and vice, and grow out of the devil, and not out of Christ. And their articles are of the blindness of the devil, and not of the light of Christ, for Christ's light hath testimony of the Scripture every where.

Ver. 29. *"If ye know that he is righteous, know that all that work righteousness are born of him."*

Our nature is to work wickedness, and so blind thereto, that it can see no righteousness. And then it followeth that we must be born anew in Christ, ere we can either do or yet know what is righteous. And in him we must first be made righteous ourselves, ere we can work righteous works, which conclusion is contrary unto the Pope, for he saith, that the works do make the man righteous. And Christ's doctrine saith, that the man maketh the works righteous. A righteous man springeth out of righteous works, saith the Pope's doctrine. Righteous works spring out of a righteous man, and a righteous man springeth out of Christ, saith Christ's doctrine. The works make the man righteous which before was wicked, saith the Pope. The works declare that the man is righteous, saith Christ's doctrine: but the man was first made righteous in Christ, and the spirit of Christ taught him what righteousness was, and healed his heart, and made him consent thereto, and to have his lust in righteousness, and to work righteously.

*From Chap. III.*

Ver. 1, 2. "*Behold, what love the Father shewed us, that we should be called the sons of God. For this cause, the world knoweth you not, because it knoweth not him. Dearly beloved, now are we the sons of God, though yet it appeareth not that we shall be. But we know that when he shall appear, we shall be like him, for we shall see him as he is.*"

The love of God to usward is exceedingly great in that he hath made us his sons, without any deserving of us, and hath given us his spirit through the Son, to certify our hearts thereof, in that we feel that our trust is in God, and that our souls have received health, and power to love the law of God, which is the sure testimony, that we are sons, and under no condemnation. Neither ought it to discourage us, nor make us think we were less beloved, because the world hateth us, and persecuteth us; for the world knoweth us not. Neither any marvel, for the world could not know Christ himself, for all his glory he came with miracles and benefits in healing the sick and raising the dead. But for all the oppression of the world, we are yet sure that we are God's children. And in like manner, though the glory, that we shall be in, appear not: yet we are sure that we shall be like him, when he appeareth. As darkness vanishes away at the coming of the sun, and the world receiveth a new fashion, and is turned into light; so suddenly made glorious; even so, when he shall appear, and we shall see him as he is, we shall with the sight of him be changed into the glory of his image, and made like him. And then shall the world know him, and us, unto their shame and confusion.

Ver. 3. “ *And all, that have this hope in him, purge themselves, as he is pure.*”

The faith and hope of a Christian man, are no dead, idle, or barren things, but lively works and fruitful. For when the law, through conscience of sin, hath slain the soul, then hope and trust in Christ's blood through certifying of the conscience, that the damnation of the law is taken away, quickeneth her again, and maketh her to love the law, which is the purifying of the soul, and her life, and serving the law in the inner man. And then the said gifts of hope and faith stretch themselves forth unto the members, dead with natural lust, consent, and custom to sin, and quicken them and purge them, with the wholesome penance of Christ's doctrine, and make them serve the law outwardly, and bear wholesome fruit of love unto the profit of their neighbours, according to Christ's love unto us. For if the spirit of Christ, with which God anointeth us and maketh us kings, and sealeth us and maketh us his sure and several kingdom, and which he giveth us in earnest (2 Cor. i.) ; and with which he changeth us into the image of Christ (2 Cor. iv.) ; dwell in our souls through faith, the same spirit cannot but quicken the members also, and make them fruitful (Rom. viii.). Wherefore the faith and hope of the Pope, which, by their own confession, may stand with all wickedness and consent unto all evil, and be without repentance towards God's law (as it appeareth by their three capital sins touched of by John a little above: pride, covetousness, and lechery), are no true faith and hope: but vain words and vizors only, according to his other disguising and names of hypocrisy.

Ver. 8, 9, 10. *“ He that sinneth is of the devil, for the devil sinneth from the beginning. But for this cause appeared the Son of God : even to destroy the works of the devil. All that are born of God do no sin, for his seed abideth in them, and they cannot sin, because they be born of God ; and hereby are the sons of God known, and also the sons of the devil.”*

God, and the devil, are two contrary fathers, two contrary fountains, and two contrary causes : the one of all goodness, the other of all evil. And they that do evil are born of the devil, and first are evil, by that birth, ere they do evil. For ere a man do any evil outward of purpose, he conceived that evil first in his mind and consented unto it, and so was evil in his heart, ere he wrought evil ; and ere he conceived evil in his heart, he was born of the devil, and had received of his seed and nature : by the reason of which nature, seed, and birth, he worketh evil naturally, and can do no other. As Christ saith (John, viii.), “ Ye are of your father the devil, and therefore will do the lusts of your father.”

And on the other side, they that do good are first born of God and receive of his nature and seed, and by the reason of that nature and seed, are first good, ere they do good, by the same rule. And Christ, which is contrary to the devil, came to destroy the works of the devil in us, and to give us a new birth, a new nature, and to sow new seed in us, that we should, by the reason of that birth, sin no more. For the seed of that birth, that is to wit, the spirit of God and the lively seed of his word, sown in our hearts, keepeth our hearts that we cannot consent to sin ; as the seed of the devil holdeth the hearts of his, that they cannot consent to good. This is contrary unto the Pope in two points ; in one, that

he saith, that our good deeds make us first good, and teacheth us not to believe in Christ's blood, there to be washed and made first good. And in another, that he saith, God chooseth us first for our good qualities and properties, and for the enforcement and good endeavour of our free will. What good endeavour is there, where the devil possesseth the whole heart, that it can consent to no good?

And finally, there is great difference between the sin of them that believe in Christ unfeignedly, and the sin of them that believe not. For they that believe, sin not of purpose and of consent to wickedness, that it is good, casting and compassing beforehand, without grudge of conscience, to bring their purpose about. As ye see our hypocrites have vexed all Christendom this twenty years to bring a little lust to effect; their fathers conceived mischief eight hundred years ago. And the sons consent unto the same, and have no power to depart therefrom. And therefore their sin is devilish and under the damnation of the law. But if he, that believeth, sin; he doth it not of purpose, or that he consenteth unto the life of sin: but of infirmity, chance, and some great temptation that hath overcome him. And therefore his sin is venial, and under mercy and grace, though it be murder, theft, or adultery: and not under the damnation of the law. So that his Father shall scourge him, but not cast him away or damn him. Mark in the sin of Saul and of David. Saul ever excused his sin, and could not but persecute the will of God. And David confessed his sin, with great repentance at the first warning, whensoever he forgot himself.

Ver. 18, 19. *“ My little children, let us not love in word nor with the tongue, but with the deed and of a truth. For thereby we know that we be of the*

*truth, and so shall we certify our hearts in his sight."*

If we have power to work, then doth the work certify our hearts, that our faith in Christ, and love to God, and our neighbour for his sake, are unfeigned, and that we are true children, and no hypocrites. And then are we bold in our conscience before God. And this is it that Peter meaneth (2 Pet. i.), where he biddeth us minister in our faith virtue, godly living, and all manner of good works, and therewith to make our vocation and election, or our calling and choosing sure. For the sight of the work doth certify us, that God hath called us, and chosen us unto grace and mercy.

But and if when the time of working is come, I fly and have no power to work, then will our conscience accuse us of sin and transgression within the heart before God, and so, for fear of the rod, we dare not be bold, but draw back and stand aloof.

*From Chap. IV.*

Ver. 7, 8. *"Dearly beloved, let us love one another, for love is of God. And all that love are born of God, and know God. And he that loveth not, knoweth not God: for God is love."*

John singeth his old song again, and teacheth an infallible and sure token, which we may see and feel at our fingers' ends, and thereby be out of all doubt, that our faith is unfeigned, and that we know God, and be born of God, and that we hearken unto the doctrine of the Apostles purely and godly, and not of any curiosity, to seek glory and honour therein unto ourselves, and to make a cloak thereof to cover our covetousness and filthy lusts. Which token is, if we love one another. For the love of a man's

neighbour unfeignedly, springeth out of the unfeigned knowledge of God in Christ's blood. By which knowledge we are born of God, and love God and our neighbours for his sake. And so he, that loveth his neighbour unfeignedly, is sure of himself, that he knoweth God, and is of God unfeignedly. And contrariwise, he that loveth not, knoweth not God. For God in Christ's blood is such a love, that if a man saw it, it were impossible that he should not break out into the love of God again, and of his neighbour for his sake.

Ver. 9, 10. *"Herein appeared the love of God unto usward, because God sent his only Son into the world, that we should live through him. Herein is love: not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and sent his Son, a satisfaction for our sins."*

If a man had once felt within in his conscience the fierce wrath of God toward sinners, and the terrible and most cruel damnation that the law threateneth; and then beheld with the eyes of a strong faith, the mercy, favour, and grace, the taking away of the damnation of the law, and restoring again of life, freely offered us in Christ's blood, he should perceive love, and so much the more, that it was shewed us, when we were sinners and enemies to God (Rom. v.), and that without all deservings, without our endeavouring, enforcing, and preparing ourselves, and without all good motions, qualities, and properties of our free-will; but when our hearts were as dead unto all good working, as the members of him, whose soul is departed. Which thing to prove, and to stop the blasphemous mouths of all our adversaries, I will, of innumerable texts, rehearse one in the beginning of the second chapter to the Ephesians, where Paul saith thus: "Ye were dead in trespass

and sin, in which ye walked according to the course of the world and after the governor that ruleth in the air, the spirit that worketh in the children of unbelief, among which we also had our conversation in time past, in the lusts of our flesh; and fulfilled the lusts of the flesh and of the mind (so that the flesh and the mind were agreed both to sin, and the mind consented, as well as the flesh), and were by nature the children of wrath, as well as others. But God being rich in mercy, through the great love wherewith he loved us, even when we were dead in sin, hath quickened us with Christ; for by grace are ye saved: and with him hath raised us up, and with him hath made us sit in heavenly things through Jesus Christ, for to shew in time to come the exceeding riches of his grace, in kindness to usward, in Jesus Christ. For by grace are ye saved through faith, and that not of yourselves; for it is the gift of God, and cometh not of works, lest any man should boast himself. But we are his workmanship created in Christ Jesus unto good works, unto which God ordained us before that we should walk in them." The text is plain, we were stone dead, and without life or power to do or consent to good. The whole nature of us, was captive under the devil, and led at his will. And we were as wicked as the devil now is (except that he now sinneth against the Holy Ghost), and we consented unto sin, with soul and body, and hated the law of God. But God, of his grace, only quickened us in Christ, and raised us out of that death, and made us sit with Christ in heavenly things. That is, he set our hearts at rest and made us sit fast in the life of Christ's doctrine, and unmoveable from the love of Christ. And finally, we are in this our second birth, God's workmanship and creation in Christ: so, that as he which is yet unmade, hath no life nor power to work, no more had we, till we were



made again in Christ. The preaching of mercy in Christ quickened our hearts through faith, wrought by the spirit of Christ, which God poured into our hearts, ere we wist.

Ver. 11. "*Dearly beloved, if God so loved us, then ought we to love one another.*"

If we felt the love of God in Christ's blood, we could not but love again, not only God and Christ, but also all that are bought with Christ's blood. If we love God for the pleasures that we receive, then love we ourselves. But if we love him, to do him pleasure again; that can we no otherwise do, than in loving our neighbours for his sake, them that are good to continue them in their goodness, and them that are evil, to draw them to good. Love is the instrument wherewith faith maketh us God's sons, and fashioneth us like the image of God, and certifieth us that we so are. And therefore commandeth Christ (Mat. v.), "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, pray for them that persecute you, that ye may be the sons of your heavenly Father, which maketh his sun rise over good and bad, and sendeth his rain upon just and unjust;" yea, which made the sun of his mercy shine upon us, and sent the rain of the blood of his dear and only Child upon our souls, to quicken us and to make us see love to love again.

*End of the Selections from Tindal,*

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**THE**  
**L I F E**  
**AND**  
**SELECTIONS FROM THE WRITINGS**  
**OF**  
**JOHN FRITH,**  
**The Martyr.**



The STORY, LIFE, and MARTYRDOM,  
OF  
JOHN FRITH,

*As related by John Fox, in his Acts and Monuments  
of the Christian Martyrs.*

AMONGST all other chances lamentable, there hath been none a long time, which seemed unto me more grievous than the lamentable death and cruel handling of John Frith; so learned and excellent a young man, which had so profited in all kind of learning and knowledge, that scarcely there was his equal amongst all his companions: and besides, withal had such a godliness of life joined with his doctrine, that it was hard to judge in whether of them he was more commendable; being greatly praiseworthy in them both. But as touching his doctrine, by the grace of Christ, we will speak hereafter. Of the great godliness which was in him this may serve for experiment sufficient, for that notwithstanding his other manifold and singular gifts and ornaments of the mind, in him most pregnant, wherewithal he might have opened an easy way unto honour and dignity, notwithstanding he chose rather wholly to consecrate himself unto the church of Christ, excellently shewing forth and practising in himself the precept, so highly commended of the philosophers, touching the life of man; which life, they say, is given unto us in such sort, that how much the better the man is, so much the less he should live unto himself, but unto others,

serving for the common utility, and that we should think a great part of our birth to be due unto our parents, a greater part unto our country, and the greatest part of all to be bestowed upon the church, if we will be counted good men.

First of all, he began his study at Cambridge. In whom nature had planted, being but a child, marvellous instincts and love unto learning, whereunto he was addicted. He had also a wonderful promptness of wit, and a ready capacity to receive and to understand any thing, insomuch that he seemed not to be sent unto learning but also born for the same purpose. Neither was there any diligence wanting in him, equal unto that towardness, or worthy of his disposition. Whereby it came to pass, that he was not only a lover of learning, but also became an exquisitely learned man. In the which exercise, when he had diligently laboured certain years, not without great profit both of Latin and Greek, at the last he fell into knowledge and acquaintance with William Tindal, through whose instructions he first received into his heart the seed of the Gospel and sincere godliness.

At that time Thomas Wolsey, cardinal of York, prepared to build a college in Oxford, marvellous sumptuous, which had the name and title of Friths-wide, but now named Christ's Church, not so much (as it is thought) for the love and zeal that he bare unto learning, as for an ambitious desire of glory and renown, and to leave a perpetual name unto posterity. This ambitious cardinal gathered together into that college whatsoever excellent thing there was in the whole realm; either vestments, vessels, or other ornaments, besides provision of all kind of precious things. Besides that, he also appointed unto that company all such men as were found to excel in any kind of learning and knowledge; and amongst the chief of them was John Frith. Besides whom many

others called also out of other places, mostly picked young men, of grave judgment and sharp wits; who conferring together upon the abuses of religion, being at that time crept into the church, were therefore accused of heresy unto the cardinal, and cast into a prison, within a deep cave under the ground of the same college, where their salt fish was laid; so, that through the filthy stench thereof, they were all infected, and certain of them taking their death in the same prison, shortly upon the same being taken out of the prison into their chambers, there deceased.

After the death of these men, John Frith with others, by the cardinal's letter, which sent word that he would not have them so straitly handled, were dismissed out of prison, upon condition not to pass above ten miles out of Oxford. Which Frith (after hearing of the examination of Dalaber and Garret, who were made to bear fagots) went over the sea; and after two years he came over at the request of the Prior of Reading.

Being at Reading, it happened that he was there taken for a vagabond, and brought to examination: where the simple man, who could not craftily enough colour himself, was set in the stocks. Where after he had sat a long time, and was almost pined with hunger, and would not, for all that, declare what he was, at the last he desired that the schoolmaster of the town might be brought to him, who at that time was one Leonard Cox, a man very well learned. As soon as he came to him, Frith, by and by, began in the Latin tongue to bewail his captivity.

The schoolmaster, by and by, being overcome with his eloquence, did not only take pity and compassion upon him, but also began to love and embrace such an excellent wit and disposition unlooked for, especially in such an estate and misery. Afterward, they, conferring more together upon many things,



as touching the universities, schools, and tongues, fell from the Latin into the Greek : wherein Frith did so inflame the love of that schoolmaster towards him, that he brought him into a marvellous admiration, especially, when the schoolmaster heard him so promptly by heart rehearse Homer's verses out of his first book of Iliads. Whereupon the schoolmaster went with all speed unto the magistrates, grievously complaining of the injury which they did shew unto so excellent and innocent a young man.

Thus Frith, through the help of the schoolmaster, was freely released out of the stocks, and set at liberty without punishment. Albeit, this his safety continued not long, through the great hatred and deadly pursuit of Sir *Thomas More*, who, at that time, being chancellor of England, persecuted him both by land and sea, besetting all the ways and havens, yea, and promising great rewards, if any man could bring him any news or tidings of him.

Thus Frith, being on every part beset with troubles, not knowing which way to turn him, sought for some place to hide him in. Thus flitting from one place to another, and often changing both his garments and place, yet could he be in safety in no place, no not long amongst his friends : so that at the last, being traitorously taken (as ye shall after hear) he was sent unto the Tower of London, wherein he had many conflicts with the bishops, but especially in writing with Sir *Thomas More*. The first occasion of his writing was this : upon a time he had communication with a certain old familiar friend of his, touching the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ. The whole effect of which disputation consisted specially in these four points :

First, that the matter of the sacrament is no necessary article of faith under pain of damnation.

Secondly, that forasmuch as Christ's natural body

In like condition hath all properties of our body, sin only excepted, it cannot be, neither is it agreeable unto reason, that he should be in two places, or more, at once, contrary to the nature of our body.

Moreover, it shall not seem meet or necessary, that we should in this place understand Christ's words according to the literal sense, but rather according to the order and phrase of speech, comparing phrase with phrase, according to the analogy of the Scripture.

Last of all, how that it ought to be received according to the true and right institution of Christ, albeit, that the order, which at this time has crept into the church, and is used now-a-days by the priests, do never so much differ from it.

And forasmuch, as the treatise of this disputation seemed somewhat long, his friend desired him that such things as he had reasoned upon he would briefly commit unto writing, and give unto him for the help of his memory. Frith, albeit he was unwilling, and not ignorant how dangerous a thing it was to enter into such a contentious matter, at the last notwithstanding, he being overcome by the entreaty of his friend, rather followed his will, than looked to his own safeguard.

There was at that time in London a tailor, named William Holt, who, feigning great friendship toward this party, instantly required of him to give him license to read over that same writing of Frith's. Which, when he unadvisedly did, the other, by and by, carried it unto More, being then chancellor. Which thing afterward was occasion of great trouble, and also of death unto the said Frith. For More having gotten a copy of his book, not only of this sycophant, but also two other copies, which at the same time in a manner were sent by other promoters, he whetted his wits, and called his spirits together,

as much as he might, meaning to refute his opinion by a contrary book.

When More (as is aforesaid) had gotten a copy of this treatise, he sharpened his pen all that he might, to make answer unto this young man (for so he called him throughout his whole book), but in such sort, that when the book was once set forth, and shewed unto the world, then he endeavoured himself, all that he might, to keep it from printing, peradventure, lest that any copy thereof should come unto Frith's hands. But notwithstanding, when at the last Frith had gotten a copy thereof, by means of his friends, he answered him out of the prison, omitting nothing, that any man could desire, to the perfect and absolute handling of the matter. And as it were a great labour, so do I think it not much necessary to repeat all his reasons and arguments, or the testimonies which he had gathered out of the doctors: specially, forasmuch as the archbishop of Canterbury (Cranmer) in his Apology against the bishop of Winchester, seemed to have collected them abundantly, gathering the principal and chiefest helps from thence that he leaned unto against the other: and I doubt much whether the archbishop ever gave any more credit unto any author of that doctrine, than unto this aforesaid Frith.

What dexterity of wit was in him, and excellency of doctrine, it may appear not only by his books which he wrote of the *Sacrament*, but also in them which he entitled of *Purgatory*. In the which quarrel he withstood the violence of three most obstinate enemies: that is to say, of Rochester, More, and Rastall, whereof the one by the help of the doctors, the other by wresting of the Scripture, and the third by the help of natural philosophy had conspired against him. But he as a Hercules, fighting not against two only, but even with them all three at

once, did so overthrow and confound them, that he converted Rastall to his part.

Besides all these commendations of this young man, there was also in him a friendly and prudent moderation in uttering of the truth, joined with a learned godliness. Which virtue hath always so much prevailed in the church of Christ, that without it, all other good gifts of knowledge, be they never so great, cannot greatly profit, but oftentimes do very much hurt. And would God, that all things in all places were so free from all kind of dissention, that there were no mention made amongst Christians of Zuinglians, and Lutherans, when as neither Zuinglius, neither Luther died for us, but that we might be all one in Christ. Neither do I think that any thing could happen more grievous unto those worthy men, than their names so to be abused to sects and factions, which so greatly withstood and strove against all factions. Neither do I here discourse, which part came nearest unto the truth: neither so rashly intermeddle in this matter, that I will detract any thing from either part, but rather wish of God, I might join either part unto other.

But now, forasmuch as we intreat of the story of John Frith, I cannot choose, but must needs earnestly and heartily embrace the prudent and godly moderation which was in that man, who maintaining his quarrel of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, no less godly than learnedly (and so as no man in a manner had done it more learnedly and pithily), yet he did it so moderately, without any contention, that he would never seem to strive against the Papists, except he had been driven to it even of necessity. In all other matters, where necessity did not move him to contend, he was ready to grant all things for quietness sake, as his most modest reasons and answers did declare.

Whilst he was kept in the Tower, God put it into the heart of Master William Tindal to send two letters to John Frith, which thou mayst here see.

*First Letter.*

“ The grace and peace of God our Father, and of Jesus Christ our Lord be with you, Amen. Dearly beloved brother John, I have heard say, how the hypocrites, now that they have overcome that great business which letteth them, or at the least way, have brought it at a stay, they return to their old nature again. The will of God be fulfilled, and that which he hath ordained to be, ere the world was made; that come, and his glory reign over all.

“ Dearly beloved, however the matter be, commit yourself wholly and only unto your most loving Father, and most kind Lord, and fear not men that threat, nor trust men that speak fair; but trust Him that is true of promise, and able to make his word good. Your cause is Christ's Gospel, a light that must be fed with the blood of faith. The lamp must be dressed and snuffed daily, and that oil poured in every evening and morning, that the light go not out. Though we are sinners, yet is the cause right. If when we be buffeted for well-doing, we suffer patiently and endure, that is acceptable to God; for to that end we are called. For Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example that we should follow his steps, who did no sin. Hereby have we perceived love, that he laid down his life for us: therefore we ought also to lay down our lives for the brethren. Rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven. For we suffer with him that we may also be glorified with him; who shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious

body, according to the working, whereby he is able even to subject all things unto him.

“Dearly beloved, be of good courage, and comfort your soul with the hope of this high reward, and bear the image of Christ in your mortal body, that it may at his coming be made like to his immortal; and follow the example of all your other dear brethren, which chose to suffer in hope of a better resurrection. Keep your conscience pure and undefiled, and say against that nothing. Stick at necessary things, and remember the blasphemies of the enemies of Christ, saying, they find none, but that will abjure rather than suffer the extremity. Moreover, the death of them that come again after they have once denied; though it be accepted with God, and all that believe, yet is it not glorious, for the hypocrites say, he must needs die, denying helpeth not. But might it have holpen, they would have denied five hundred times; but seeing it would not help them, therefore of pure pride and mere malice together, they speak with their mouths that their conscience knoweth false. If you give yourself, cast yourself, yield yourself, commit yourself wholly and only to your loving Father, then shall his power be in you and make you strong, and that so strong, that you shall feel no pain, which should be to another present death: and his Spirit shall speak in you, and teach you what to answer, according to his promise. He shall set out his truth by you wonderfully, and work for you above all that your heart can imagine; yea, and you are not yet dead, though the hypocrites all, with all that they can make, have sworn your death.

... *Una salus victis, nullam sperare salutem;*’ i. e.

To look for no man’s help, bringeth the help of God to them that seem to be overcome in the eyes of the hypocrites: yea, it shall make God to carry you through thick and thin, for his truth’s sake, in spite

of all the enemies of his truth. There falleth not a hair, till his hour be come: and when his hour is come, necessity carrieth us hence, though we be not willing. But if we be willing, then have we a reward and thank.

“ Fear not the threatening therefore, neither be overcome of sweet words: with which twain the hypocrites shall assail you. Neither let the persuasions of worldly wisdom bear rule in your heart: no, though they be your friends that counsel you. Let Bilney be a warning to you. Let not their visor beguile your eyes. Let not your body faint. He that endureth to the end, shall be saved. If the pain be above your strength, remember; “ Whatsoever ye shall ask in my name, I will give it you.” And pray to your Father in that name; and he shall ease your pain, or shorten it. The Lord of peace, of hope, and of faith, be with you, Amen.

“ WILLIAM TINDAL.

“ Two have suffered in Antwerp, unto the great glory of the Gospel; four at Rysels in Flanders, and at Luke hath there one at the least suffered, and all the same day. At Roane, in France, they persecute; and at Paris are five doctors taken for the Gospel. See, you are not alone; be cheerful, and remember, that among the hard-hearted in England, there is a number reserved by grace; for whose sakes, if need be, you must be ready to suffer. Sir, if you may write, how short soever it be, forget it not, that we may know how it goeth with you, for our heart's ease. The Lord be yet again with you, with all his plentifulness, and fill you that you flow over, Amen.

“ If when you have read this, you may send it to Adrian, do, I pray you, that he may know how that our heart is with you.

“ George Joy, at Candlemas, being at Barrow, printed

two leaves of Genesis, in a great form, and sent one copy to the king, and another to the new queen, with a letter to N. for to deliver them; and to purchase license, that he might so go through all the Bible. Out of this sprung the noise of the new Bible: and out of that is the great seeking for English books at all printers and bookbinders in Antwerp, and for an English priest that should print.

“ This chanced the 9th day of May.

“ Sir, your wife is well content with the will of God, and would not for her sake have the glory of God hindered.

WILLIAM TINDAL.”

*Another notable and worthy Letter of Master William Tindal, sent to the said John Frith, under the Name of Jacob.*

“ The grace of our Saviour Jesus, his patience, meekness, humbleness, circumspection, and wisdom, be with your heart, Amen.

“ Dearly beloved brother Jacob, mine heart's desire in our Saviour Jesus is, that you arm yourself with patience, and be cold, sober, wise, and circumspect, and that you keep you alow by the ground, avoiding high questions, that pass the common capacity. But expound the law truly, and open the vail of Moses to condemn all flesh, and prove all men sinners, and all deeds under the law, before mercy have taken away the condemnation thereof, to be sin and damnable: and then as a faithful minister, set abroach the mercy of our Lord Jesus, and let the wounded consciences drink of the water of him. And then shall your preaching be with power, and not as the doctrine of the hypocrites, and the Spirit of God shall work with you, and all consciences shall bear record unto you, and feel that it is so. And all doctrine that casteth a mist on those two, to shadow



and hide them, I mean the law of God and mercy of Christ, that resist you with all your power. Sacraments without signification, refuse. If they put significations to them, receive them, if you see it may help, though it be not necessary.

“Of the presence of Christ’s body in the sacrament, meddle as little as you can, that there appear no division among us. Barnes will be hot against you. The Saxons be sore on the affirmative, whether constant or obstinate, I omit it to God. Philip Melancthon is said to be with the French king. There be in Antwerp, that say, they saw him come into Paris with an C. and L. horses, and that they spake with him. If the Frenchmen receive the word of God, he will plant the affirmative in them. George Joy would have put forth a treatise of that matter, but I have stopt him as yet: what he will do, if he get money, I wot not. I believe he would make many reasons, little serving to the purpose. My mind is, that nothing be put forth till we hear how you shall have sped. I would have the right use preached, and the presence to be an indifferent thing, till the matter might be reasoned in peace, at leisure of both parties. If you be required, shew the phrases of the Scripture, and let them talk what they will. For as to believe that God is every where, hurteth no man that worshippeth him no where but within in the heart, in spirit and verity: even so, to believe that the body of Christ is every where (though it cannot be proved) hurteth no man that worshippeth him no where save in the faith of his Gospel. You perceive my mind: howbeit, if God shew you otherwise, it is free for you to do as he moveth you.

“I guessed long ago that God would send a dazing into the head of the *spirituality*, to catch themselves in their own subtlety, and I trust it is come to pass. And now me thinketh I smell a counsel to be taken,

little for their profits in time to come. But you must understand, that it is not of a pure heart and for love of the truth, but to avenge themselves, and to eat the whore's flesh, and to suck the marrow of her bones. Wherefore cleave fast to the rock of the help of God, and commit the end of all things to him; and if God shall call you, that you may then use the wisdom of the worldly, as far as you perceive the glory of God may come thereof, refuse it not: and ever among thrust in, that the Scripture may be in the mother tongue, and learning set up in the universities. But and if aught be required contrary to the glory of God and his Christ, then stand fast, and commit yourself to God, and be not overcome of men's persuasions, which haply shall say, we see no other way to bring in the truth.

“ Brother Jacob, beloved in my heart, there liveth not in whom I have so good hope and trust, and in whom mine heart rejoiceth and my soul comforteth herself, as in you: not the thousandth part so much for your learning, and what other gifts else you have, as that you will creep a low by the ground, and walk in those things, that the conscience may feel, and not in the imaginations of the brain; in fear and not in boldness; in open necessary things, and not to pronounce or define of hid secrets, or things that neither help or hinder, whether they be so or no, in unity and not in seditious opinions: insomuch, that if you be sure you know; yet in things that may abide leisure, you will defer, or say (till others agree with you) methinks the text requireth this sense or understanding: yea and that if you be sure that your part be good, and another hold the contrary, yet if it be a thing that maketh no matter, you will laugh and let it pass, and refer the thing to other men, and stick you, stiffly and stubbornly in earnest and necessary things. And I trust you be persuaded even so of me.

For I call God to record, against the day we shall appear before our Lord Jesus, to give a reckoning of our doings, that I never altered one syllable of God's word against my conscience, nor would this day, if all that is in the earth, whether it be pleasure, honour, or riches, might be given me. Moreover, I take God to record to my conscience, that I desire of God to myself in this world, no more than that without which I cannot keep his laws.

“ Finally, if there were in me any gift that could help at hand, and aid you if need required ; I promise you I would not be far off, and commit the end to God ; my soul is not faint, though my body be weary. But God hath made me evil favoured in this world, and without grace in the sight of men, speechless and rude, dull and slow witted : your part shall be to supply that which lacketh in me, remembering, that as lowliness of heart shall make you high with God, even so meekness of words shall make you sink into the hearts of men. Nature giveth age authority, but meekness is the glory of youth, and giveth them honour. Abundance of love maketh me exceed in babbling.

“ Sir, as concerning purgatory, and many other things, if you be demanded, you may say, if you err, the *spirituality* hath so led you, and that they have taught you to believe, as you do. For they preached you all such things out of God's word, and alleged a thousand texts, by reason of which texts, you believed as they taught you. But now you find them liars, and that the texts mean no such things, and therefore you can believe them no longer, but are as you were, before they taught you, and believe no such thing : howbeit, you are ready to believe, if they have any other way to prove it, for without proof you cannot believe them, when you have found them with so many lies. If you perceive wherein

we may help, either in being still, or doing somewhat, let us have word, and I will do mine uttermost.

“ My lord of London hath a servant called John Tisen, with a red beard, and a black reddish head, and was once my scholar ; he was seen in Antwerp, but came not among the Englishmen : whither he is gone an ambassador secret, I wot not.

“ The mighty God of Jacob be with you to supplant his enemies, and give you the favour of Joseph ; and the wisdom and the spirit of Stephen be with your heart and with your mouth, and teach your lips what they shall say, and how to answer to all things. He is our God if we despair in ourselves, and trust in him : and his is the glory, Amen.

“ WILLIAM TINDAL.

“ I hope our redemption is nigh.”

Frith's long confinement in the Tower, without examination, was so heinously taken of the king, that now my lord of Canterbury with other bishops, as Stokely, then bishop of London, and other learned men, were at once appointed to examine Frith. And for that there should be no concourse of citizens at the said examination : my lord of Canterbury removed to Croydon, unto whom resorted the rest of the commissioners. Now, before the day of execution appointed, my lord of Canterbury sent one of his gentlemen and one of his porters, whose name was Perlebean, a Welshman born, to fetch John Frith from the Tower unto Croydon. This gentleman had both my lord's letters and the king's ring unto my lord Fitzwilliams, constable of the Tower (then living in Canon Row, at Westminster, in extreme anguish and pain from a disorder), for the delivery of the prisoner : Master Fitzwilliams more passionate than patient, understanding for what pur-

pose my lord's gentleman was come, damned and cursed Frith and other heretics, saying, "Take this my ring unto the lieutenant of the Tower, and receive your man, your heretic, with you, and I am glad that I am rid of him." When Frith was delivered unto my lord of Canterbury's gentleman, they twain, with Perlebean, sitting in a wherry and rowing towards Lambeth: the said gentleman much lamenting in his mind the infelicity of the said Frith, began in this wise to exhort him; "to consider in what estate he was, a man altogether cast away in this world, if he did not look wisely to himself. And yet though his cause was never so dangerous, he might somewhat in relenting to authority, and so giving place for a time, help both himself out of trouble, and when opportunity and occasion should serve, prefer his cause, which he then went about to defend, declaring further that he had many well-willers and friends, which would stand on his side, so far forth as possible they then were able, and durst do: adding hereunto, that it were great pity that he being of such singular knowledge both in the Latin and Greek; both ready and ripe in all kind of learning, and that namely, as well in the Scriptures as in the ancient doctors, should now suddenly suffer all those singular gifts to perish with him, without little commodity or profit to the world, and less comfort to his wife and children, and others his kinsfolks and friends. And as for the verity of your opinion in the sacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ: it is so untimely opened here amongst us in England, that you shall rather do harm than good, wherefore be wise and be ruled by good counsel until a better opportunity may serve."

"This I am sure of," quoth the gentleman, "that my lord Cromwell and my lord of Canterbury, much favouring you and knowing you to be an eloquent

learned young man, and now towards the felicity of your life, young in years, old in knowledge, and of great forwardness and likelihood, to be a most profitable member for this realm, will never permit you to sustain any open shame, if you will somewhat be advised by their counsel : on the other side, if you stand stiff to your opinion, it is not possible to save your life. For like as you have good friends, so have you mortal foes and enemies."

"I most heartily thank you," quoth master Frith unto the gentleman, "both for your good will and for your counsel ; by the which I well perceive that you mind well unto me ; howbeit, my cause and conscience is such, that in no wise I may not, nor cannot for no worldly respect without danger of damnation start aside, and fly from the true knowledge and doctrine which I have conceived of the supper of the Lord or the communion, otherwise called the sacrament of the altar: for if it be my chance to be demanded what I think in that behalf, I must needs say, my knowledge and my conscience, as partly I have written therein already, though I should presently lose twenty lives if I had so many. And this you shall well understand that I am not so unfurnished, either of Scripture or ancient doctors, schoolmen, or others for my defence, so that if I may be indifferently heard, I am sure that mine adversaries cannot justly condemn me or mine assertion, but that they shall condemn with me, St. Augustine and the most part of the old writers; yea, the very bishops of Rome of the oldest sort shall also say for me and defend my cause."—"Yea, marry," quoth the gentleman, "you say well, if you might be indifferently heard. But I much doubt thereof, for that our master Christ was not indifferently heard, nor should be, as I think, if he were now present again in the

world, specially in this your opinion, the same being so odious unto the world, and we so far off from the true knowledge thereof."

"Well, well," quoth Frith then unto the gentleman, "I know very well, that this doctrine of the sacrament of the altar which I hold, and have opened, contrary to the opinion of this realm, is very hard meat to be digested, both of the clergy and laity thereof. But this I will say to you," taking the gentleman by the hand, "that if you live but twenty years more, whatsoever become of me, you shall see this whole realm of mine opinion concerning this sacrament of the altar: namely, the whole estate of the same, though some sort of men particularly shall not be fully persuaded therein. And if it come not so to pass, then account me the vainest man that ever you heard speak with tongue. Besides this, you say that my death would be sorrowful and uncomfortable unto my friends.

"I grant," quoth he, "that for a small time it would be so; but if I should so mollify, qualify, and temper my cause in such sort as to deserve only to be kept in prison, that would not only be a much longer grief unto me, but also to my friends would breed no small disquietness, both of body and of mind. And therefore all things well and rightly pondered, my death in this cause shall be better unto me and all mine, than life in continual bondage and penuries. And Almighty God knoweth what he hath to do with his poor servant, whose cause I now defend and not my own: from the which I assuredly do intend (God willing) never to start or otherwise to give place, so long as God will give me life."

This communication or like in effect, my lord of Canterbury's gentleman and Frith had coming in a wherry upon the Thames from the Tower to Lambeth.

Now, when they were landed, after repast being taken at Lambeth, the gentleman, the porter, and Frith, went forward towards Croydon on foot. This gentleman, still lamenting with himself the hard and cruel destiny towards the said Frith, namely, if he once came amongst the bishops; and now also perceiving the exceeding constancy of Frith, devised with himself some way or means to convey him clean out of their hands, and thereupon considering that there was no more persons there to convey the prisoner, but the porter and himself, he took in hand to win the porter to his purpose. Quoth the gentleman unto Perlebean, the porter (they twain privately walking by themselves without the hearing of Frith), "You have heard this man I am sure, and noted his talk since he came from the Tower."—"Yea, that I have right well marked him," quoth the porter, "and I never heard so constant a man nor so eloquent a person."—"You have heard nothing," quoth the gentleman, "in respect of his both knowledge and eloquence: if he might liberally either in university or pulpit declare his learning, you would then much more marvel at his knowledge. I take him to be such a one of his age in all kind of learning and knowledge of tongues, as this realm never yet in mine opinion brought forth, and yet those singular gifts in him are no more considered of our bishops than if he were a very dolt or an idiot; yea, they abhor him as a devil therefore, and count utterly to extinguish him as a member of the devil, without any consideration of God's special gifts."—"Marry," quoth the porter, "if there were nothing else in him but the consideration of his personage, both comely and amiable, and of natural disposition, gentle, meek, and humble: it were pity that he should be cast away."

So when my lord of Canterbury's gentleman came



nigh to the hill, he joined himself in company with the said Frith, and, calling him by his name, said, "Now, master Frith, let us twain commune together another while : you must consider that the journey which I have now taken in hand thus in bringing you to Croydon, as a sheep to the slaughter, so it grieveth me, and as it were overwhelmeth me in cares and sorrows, that I little pass what danger I fall in, so that I could find the means to deliver you out of the lion's mouth. And yet yonder good fellow and I have so devised a means, whereby you may both easily escape from this great and eminent danger at hand, and we also be rid from any vehement suspicion." And thereupon declared unto Frith the full process discoursed before, how every thing in order should be handled.

When Frith had diligently heard all the matter concerning his delivery, he said to the gentleman, "Oh, good lord," with a smiling countenance, "is this the effect of your secret consultation, thus long between you twain ? Surely, surely, you have lost a great deal more labour in times past, and so are you like to do this, for if you should both leave me here, and go to Croydon declaring to the bishops that you had lost Frith, I would surely follow as fast after as I might, and bring them news that I had found and brought Frith again. Do you think," quoth he, "that I am afraid to declare my opinion unto the bishops of England in a manifest truth ?"

"You are a fond man," quoth the gentleman, "thus to talk : as though your reasoning with them might do some good. But I do much marvel, that you were so willing to fly the realm before you were taken, and now so unwilling to save yourself."—"There was and is a great diversity of escaping, between the one and the other," quoth Frith.

“Before I was indeed desirous to escape, because I was not attached, but at liberty, which liberty I would fain have enjoyed for the maintenance of my study beyond the sea, where I was reader in the Greek tongue, according to St. Paul’s counsel. Howbeit, now being taken by the higher power, and as it were, by Almighty God’s permission and providence, delivered into the hands of the bishops only for religion and doctrine’s sake, namely, such as in conscience and under pain of damnation, I am bound to maintain and defend, if I should now start aside and run away : I should run from my God and from the testimony of his holy word, worthy then of a thousand hells. And therefore I most heartily thank you both, for your good wills towards me, beseeching you to bring me where I was appointed to be brought, for else I will go thither all alone.” And so with a cheerful and merry countenance he went with them, spending the time with pleasant and godly communications, until they came to Croydon, where for that night he was well entertained in the porter’s lodge. On the morrow he was called before certain bishops and other learned men sitting in commission with my lord of Canterbury, to be examined, where he shewed himself passing ready and ripe in answering to all objections, as some then reported incredible and contrary to all men’s expectations.

This learned young man being thus thoroughly sifted at Croydon, to understand what he could say and do in his cause, there was no man willing to prefer him to answer in open disputation as poor Lambert was. But without regard of learning or good knowledge he was sent and detained unto the butcher’s stall ; I mean bishop Stokely’s consistory, there to hear, not the opinion of saint Augustine and other ancient fathers of Christ’s primitive church, of the

said sacrament, but either to be instructed and to hear the maimed and half cutaway sacrament of Antichrist the bishop of Rome, with the gross and fleshly imagination thereof, or else to perish in the fire, as he most constantly did, after he had before the bishops of London, Winchester, and Chichester, in the consistory in Paul's church, most plainly and sincerely confessed his doctrine and faith in this weighty matter.

Sentence being passed and read against him, the bishop of London directed his letter to the mayor and sheriffs of the city of London, for receiving of the aforesaid John Frith into their charge ; who, being so delivered over unto them, the fourth day of July, in the year 1533, was by them carried to Smithfield to be burned ; and when he was tied unto the stake, there it sufficiently appeared with what constancy and courage he suffered death.—For when, as the fagots and fire were put unto him, he willingly embraced the same ; thereby declaring, with what uprightness of mind he suffered his death for Christ's sake, and the true doctrine, whereof that day he gave with his blood a perfect and firm testimony.

One Andrew Hewit was burned at the same stake with him for holding the same opinions. When they were at the stake, Doctor Cole, a parson in London, openly admonished all the people, that they should in no wise pray for them, no more than they would do for a dog. At which words, Frith smiling, desired the Lord to forgive them. These words did not a little move the people unto anger, and not without good cause. The wind made his death somewhat the longer, which bore away the flame from him unto his fellow that was burning with him ; but he had established his mind with such patience, God giving him strength, that, even as though he had felt no

**FRITH.**

pain in that long torment, he seemed rather  
joy for his fellow, than to be careful for him.

This, truly, is the power and strength of  
striving and vanquishing in his saints ; who  
us together with them, and direct us in all th  
the glory of his most holy name. Amen.

A TREATISE, made by John Frith, whilst he was Prisoner in the Tower of London, A. D. 1532, called "*A Mirror, or Glass, to know thyself.*"—*At Page 83 of his Works.*

I WAS desired of a faithful friend (to whom I am so much bound, that he might lawfully have commanded me), that I would make him a little treatise, by the which he might be somewhat instructed to know himself, and so give God thanks for the benefits which he hath so abundantly poured upon him. This thing I took upon me very gladly, partly, to fulfil his right wise request, which I trust shall be to the great profit of Christ's flock, and partly, to declare what I think both of myself and of all others.

Herein may all men see, what they have received of God, and how they ought to bestow the talent that is committed unto them; which, if you note well, it will cause you to say with the wise man, Solomon; "Every man living is nothing but vanity:" which also the prophet David confirmeth, saying; if all men living were pondered in one balance, and vanity hanged in the balance against them, it should quite weigh them down, and be heavier than all they. As by example, if a man praise a very fool, and think his wit good and profound, then is that person indeed more fool than the other. And even so since man doth praise and commend riches, honour, beauty, strength, and such other vain and transitory things, which are but as a dream, and vanish like a flower in the field, when a man should have most need of them, it followeth well, that he himself is more vain than those things, which are but vanity. For if it were possible, that thou shouldst have all these things an hundred years continually without any trouble or adversity, as never man had: yet were

it but a vain dream, if it be compared unto t  
lasting life, which is prepared for Christ's  
faithful followers. So that "All flesh is as  
all his glory, like a flower of the hay, is  
and the flower fallen, but God and his wor  
for ever."

"Therefore let not the wise man rejoice  
wisdom, neither the strong man in his stren  
the rich man in his riches. But he that r  
let him rejoice in the Lord," to whom be al  
and praise without end. Amen.

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## CHAP. I.

*That all Goodness cometh of God, and all  
ourselves.*

The philosophers, to whom God has inspi  
tain sparkles of truth, acknowledged that the  
point of wisdom and direction of a man's life  
know himself; which sentence the Scriptu  
blisheth so clearly, that no man may dissent f  
truth of the same. For Solomon saith, that  
fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom."  
who can fear the Lord, but only he that k  
himself, as the Scripture teacheth him? I  
perceive not the imperfection of my nature, v  
subject unto corruption and void of all stabler  
I perceive not the unstableness of my flesh,  
prone to all sin, and rebellious to righteousne  
that there dwelleth no goodness in me: if I p  
not the poison of the old serpent and hell,  
which lieth hid within me, unto which are p  
pains intolerable; I shall have none occasio  
God, but rather to advance myself equal w  
as Lucifer, Nebuchadnezzar, Herod, and such

have done, which after were sore chastened for their folly.

What hast thou (vain man) whereof thou mayst rejoyce? For the Scripture testifieth, that "Every good and perfect gift cometh from above, from the Father of light, with whom is no transmutation." So, that whether they be outward gifts or inward, pertaining either to the body or soul; if they be good, they come from above, from the Father of light. For if thou behold the proportion of thy body, stature, or beauty, thou shalt easily perceive, that it cometh of God, even by the words of Christ, which exhorteth us not to be careful. For there is none of us all, though we be neyer so careful, that can add one cubit to his stature, either make one white hair or black.

And as touching our wisdom, eloquence, long life, victory, glory, and such others, the Scripture testifieth that they come of God and not of ourselves. For St. James saith; "If any lack wisdom, let him ask it of God, which giveth it abundantly." As it is evident by Solomon, which of God desired wisdom to judge between good and evil. And the Lord made him answer, that because he asked that thing, and not long life, nor riches, nor the destruction of his enemies, but rather wisdom to discern in judgment; "Behold, I have given unto thee an heart full of wisdom and understanding, insomuch, that none before thee hath been like unto thee, neither yet after thee shall any be like unto thee. And besides that, I have given thee riches and glory."

Furthermore, the most glorious gifts concerning our souls, come from God, even of his mere mercy and favour, which he sheweth us in Christ, and for Christ, as predestination, election, vocation, and justification: and albeit, *M. More*, with his painted poetry and crafty conveyance, do cast a mist before

your eyes, that you might wander out of way, endeavouring himself to instruct you, hath predestinated and chosen us before the world, because he knew before that we should do good works, yet will I set you upon which shall shine so bright, and so clearly, that you shall plainly see him dancing naked in a net, which, notwithstanding he thinketh himself to go invisible. And although the Scripture enjoineth (both Tit. iii. and Rom. viii.) to prove the same true, yet will I let that pass as for me *St. Austin*, which is the candle that shall disclose his juggling, and ignorance: for *St. Austin* saith, some man will say that God did choose us, because he saw before that we should do good works: but Christ saith which saith, "Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you;" for (saith he) if he had chosen us because he saw before that we should do good works, then should he also have seen before that we should first have chosen him, which is contrary to the will of Christ, and mind of the Evangelist. Here you see how evidently *St. Austin* confuteth *M. More* poetry, and openeth his serpentine deceit.

Finally, *St. Paul* saith (Eph. ii.) that "we are saved through grace, and that it cometh not of ourselves, it is the gift of God, and cometh without works, lest any man should boast himself;" words *M. More* might be ashamed to hear, if not another *Lucian*, neither regarding God nor man. But *St. Austin* addeth thus much more unto it, that it can in no wise be grace or favour, except it be always free. And therefore, I may conclude that neither of the works going before, nor of the works coming after, but only of the free favour of God.

And this are we sure of, that whomsoever God chooseth, them he saveth of his mercy: and v



repelleth, them of his secret and unsearchable judgment, he condemneth. But why he chooseth the one and repelleth the other, inquire not (saith *St. Austin*), if thou wilt not err. Insomuch that *St. Paul* could not attain to the knowledge thereof, but cried out: "O the depth of the riches and wisdom of the knowledge of God! how unsearchable are his judgments, and how incomprehensible are his ways!" But *M. More* had liever loud to lie, and far to err, than to let God alone with his secrets, or to acknowledge his ignorance in any thing.

And to be short, *St. Paul* saith; "What hast thou that thou hast not received? If thou hast received it, why dost thou advance thyself, as though thou hadst not received it?" So, we may conclude, that all goodness cometh of God, and all sin or mischief of our own poisoned nature. Insomuch, that we may say with the prophet *Daniel*; "O Lord, all glory be unto thee, and unto us shame and confusion," so that "he that rejoiceth, may rejoice in the Lord."

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## CHAP. II.

*For what Intent God giveth us these Gifts, and that they are rather a Charge and a careful Burden, than any Pleasure to rejoice at.*

Like as there are many members of our body, and every member hath his office appointed unto him, which he must do, not for his own wealth and safeguard only, but for the preservation of the whole body; insomuch, that the most honest member must serve the vilest at his necessity, for if the hand would not serve the slow belly, they should both perish together; even so, hath God appointed his gifts, and

distributed them in this world unto us (which should be as one body), that every nation hath need of others, every occupation need of another, and every man need of his neighbour. This is so plain that it cannot be denied. Nevertheless, I will more specially touch the matter, because I would have it so rooted in you, that you might endeavour yourselves to fulfil it towards each other.

If God have opened the eyes of thy mind, and have given thee spiritual wisdom through the knowledge of his word, boast not thyself of it, but rather fear and tremble, for a chargeable office is committed unto thee, which (if thou fulfil it) is like to cost thee thy life at one time or other, with much trouble and persecution. But if thou fulfil it not, then shall that office be thy damnation. For St. Paul saith; "Woe is to me, if I preach not." And by the prophet Ezekiel, God saith; "If I say unto the wicked that he shall die the death, and thou shew him not of it, the wicked shall die in his iniquity, but I shall require his blood of thy hand."

But peradventure, our divines would expound these texts only upon them that are sent and have care of souls. Whereunto I answer, that every man which hath the light of God's word revealed unto him, is sent whensoever he seeth necessity, and hath care of his neighbour's soul. As by example; if God have given me my sight, and I perceive a blind man going in the way, which is ready, for lack of sight, to fall into a pit, wherein he were like to perish, then am I bound by God's commandment to guide him till he were past that jeopardy, or else if he perish therein (where I might have delivered him), his blood shall be required of my hand. And likewise, if I perceive my neighbour like to perish for lack of Christ's doctrine, then am I bound to instruct him with the

knowledge that God hath given me, or else his blood shall be required of my hand.

Peradventure, they will say, there is already one appointed to watch the pit, and therefore if any man fall into it, he shall make it good, and that therefore I am discharged, and need to take no thought. Whereunto I answer, I would be glad that it so were. Notwithstanding, if I perceiue that the watchman be asleep, or run to the alehouse to make good cheer, or gone out of the country a whore-hunting, and through his negligence espy my neighbour in danger of the pit, then am I nevertheless bound to lead him from it, I think that God hath sent me at that time to save that soul from perishing. And the law of God and nature bindeth me thereto, which chargeth me to love my neighbour as myself, and to do unto him, as I would be done to. And I think there is no man (that is in this case) but he would have his neighbour to help him, and therefore is he bound to help his neighbour, if he be in like jeopardy. And even thus art thou bound to give good counsel to him that lacketh it, and to distribute whatsoever talent thou hast received of God unto the profit of thy neighbour. Moreover, besides that ye cannot avoid this my solution, yet I desire you to note how the text itself, which I allege, doth condemn your vain objection, the words are these (Ezek. iii.); "If I say unto the wicked that he shall die the death, and thou shew him not of it, the wicked shall die in his iniquity, but I shall require his blood of thy hand." Mark, I pray you, that the prophet saith, not as you object, that he which should shew the wicked his iniquity, and doth not so, shall perish only, and the wicked himself to be saved, because his fault was told him by him which took charge to teach him: but contrariwise, the wicked shall perish in his iniquity (saith God by his prophet Ezekiel), and his blood

shall be required of the hand of him which should have instructed him in the truth.

If God have given thee faith in Christ's blood, be not proud of it, but fear: for since God hath not spared the natural branches (I mean the Jews, which were his elect people); since he spared not the angels that sinned, but hath cast them into hell, to be reserved unto judgment; since he spared not the old world, but overwhelmed them with waters, delivering Noah, the preacher of righteousness, take heed, lest he also spare not thee. Truth it is, that where faith is present, no sin can be imputed, but this faith is not in thy power, for it is the gift of God; And therefore, if thou be unkind and endeavour not thyself to walk innocently, and to bring forth the fruits of faith, it is to be feared that, for thine unkindness, God will take it from thee, and hire out his vineyard to another, which shall restore the fruit in due season, and then shall thine end be worse than thy beginning. Let us therefore with fear and trembling seek our health, and make stable our vocation and election, mortifying our members and man of sin, by exercising ourselves in Christ's precepts, that we may be the children of our Father that is in heaven, and fellow-heirs with our Saviour and brother, Christ Jesu.

If God have given thee riches, thou mayst not think that he hath committed them unto thee for thine own use only; but that he hath made thee a steward over them to distribute them to the profit of the commonalty. For indeed thou art not the very owner of them, but God is the owner, which saith by the prophet Haggai; "Gold is mine, and silver is mine:" and he hath committed them for a season to thine hand, to see whether thou wilt be faithful in distributing this wicked mammon, according to his commandments. And that it so is, thou mayst well

note by the Parable of the Rich Man, which was clothed in silk, and fared delicately in this world, and after was burned in hell. Whereupon St. Gregory noteth, that he was not damned because he despoiled any other man's, but because he did not distribute his own, as the process of the text doth also well declare. Wherefore, if we must give accounts of all that is given us, then have we little cause to glory, but rather to fear and tremble, and to count him most happy, to whom least is committed. For God, to whom this account must be made, cannot be deluded, although the world may be blinded.

If God have given thee thy perfect limbs and members, then get to some occupation, and work with thine own hands, that thy members, which are whole and perfect, may minister to their necessity, that lack their members: for that is acceptable in the sight of God, and the contrary so detestable, that if thou withdraw thy members from aiding thy neighbours, thou shalt of God be counted for a thief and a murderer. And therefore I affirm that all our holy hypocrites and idle bellied monks, canons, and priests, whether they are regular or secular, if they labour not to preach God's word, are thieves and also murderers: for they maintain their strong members in idleness, which ought to labour for the profit of their neighbours, that their perfect members might minister unto the necessity of them that lack their members. As the eye must minister her fruit of sight unto the feet, hands and other members which lack it, or else are they in jeopardy to perish at every pit, and the eye guilty of their destruction for withdrawing her office from them. And this may we establish by the words of St. Paul, which saith; "He that did steal, let him steal no more, but rather labour with his own hands that he may have to distribute to

them that lack." And some doctors do very well expound it of certain persons that walked inordinately, and would not work themselves, though they were sturdy lubbers, but lived on other men's charity, which thing the Apostle calleth theft, and exhorteth them to work with their own hands, that they may both help themselves and others.

And for because some persons which feel themselves grieved, because they are guilty, will not be content to allow this exposition, I will allege another text of the wise man, which shall not only allow this sentence, but also bite them better: for he saith, "The bread of the needy is the life of the poor, and he, that defraudeth him of it, is a murderer." This text holdeth their noses so hard to the grindstone, that it clean disfigureth their faces, for it proveth our bishops, abbots, and spiritual possessionaries double thieves and murderers, as concerning the body (besides their murdering of the soul, for lack of God's word, which they will neither preach, nor suffer any to do it purely, but persecute and put them unto the most cruel death): first, they are thieves and murderers, because they distribute not that which was appointed by our faithful forefathers to the intent it should have been ministred unto the poor (for then they seemed to be very virtuous), but now they bestow it upon hawks, hounds, horses, &c. upon gorgeous apparel and delicate fare. And glad are the poor, when they may get the scraps. They may have not so much as a pig of their own sow, no, scarce a feather of their own goose. For he that may dispend four or five thousand marks a year, would think it were too much if he gave twenty nobles of it unto the poor, which notwithstanding are the owners under God of all together, the minister's living deducted, which (as the Apostle saith), having their food and clothes to cover them, ought therewith to

be content. And thus they defraud the poor of their bread, and so are they thieves; and (because their bread is their life) as the aforesaid text testifieth, he that defraudeth him of it, is not only a thief, but also a murderer.

And when they think to bestow it very well, and bestow it in building palaces of pleasure, yet are they therein much to be reprov'd. For, as an old doctor saith, they are in that point worse than the devil, for the devil would have had that Christ should have turned stones into bread (which might have succoured the poor), and these builders turn the bread into stones. For they bestow the goods which should be given to the poor for their sustenance, upon an heap of stones.

But here, they will object (as they are never without evasions), that if they should distribute it among the poor, according as they are bound, within a while all would be spent, and no good should come of it, nor no man know where it is become, or who fareth the better for it. Whereunto I answer, that indeed ye be too wise for me, for since ye go about to correct Christ, and to fetch him to school and learn him what is best, it were but folly for me to meddle with you. For Christ's mind and commandment is, that we should distribute it and not withhold it from them. And he saith by his prophet: "Woe be to them that couple and knit houses together;" which I think may justly be verified upon you. Nevertheless, this I dare say, that if a bishop, which may dispend four thousand marks, would, unto the poor of his diocese, distribute every year but the one half, giving unto one man forty shillings, and lending to another twenty nobles to set up his occupation withal, and so give and lend as he seeth need, he should within five or six years make a flourishing diocese. And I think verily that his face should more be allowed before God, than if he had builded a thousand abbies:

for God's commandment ought first to be done, and is much more acceptable to him than all the works that proceed of our imaginations and foolish fantasies.

Besides, that they are thieves and murderers for withdrawing their perfect members from labour, whereby they might minister unto their neighbour's necessity (I speak of as many as are not occupied about preaching God's word), for in that they withdraw their members from succouring their poor neighbours, they are thieves. And because this succour is called their life, they are murderers, for keeping it from them.

Here our begging orders of friars would think to be exempt, because they have not received rents to be distributed. Notwithstanding, if we ponder this text well, we shall find them condemned as deep as the others. For, they enter into every man's house, and with unshamefaced begging poll them so nigh, that in a manner they leave nothing behind for the very poor which are sick, lame, cripple, blind, and maimed. For there is not the poorest desolate widow, but with their fair flattering they will so deceive her, that they will be sure either of money or ware: but, dear brethren, maintain ye no such murderers, lest ye be partakers of their sins, but rather follow the counsel of the Apostle, which chargeth us in the name of our Lord Jesu Christ, that we withdraw ourselves from every brother that walketh inordinately and worketh not, and biddeth if he will not work, he should not eat.

Now, if they object, that they live in contemplation and study of Scripture, and say that they ought not to be let from that holy work: for Christ said, that *Mary* had chosen the best part, which should not be taken from her.

Whereunto may I make the same answer, which that holy father and abbot St. Silvane made. This



Silvane was an abbot, an holy man, having many monks under him, whom he caused after their prayers (which were nothing so long as our monks use now-a-days) which think for their many words to be heard, like as did the Pharisees whom Christ rebuked, he caused them, I say, to labour for their living, according to the mind of Paul. And upon a time there came a religious man to his abbey, and when he saw his monks working, he asked the abbot why he so used them, and why they gave not themselves to holy contemplation, seeing that *Mary* had chosen the best part. The abbot made few words, but gave this monk a book, and sent him into a cell, to be there occupied in study and contemplation. And at dinner-time the abbot called all his monks to meat, and let him sit in contemplation. Afternoon, when he began to wax very hungry, he came out again to the abbot Silvane, and asked "whether his monks had not yet dined:" and he answered, "Yes."—"And why called you not me," quoth the monk, "to dine with them?"—"Verily," said the abbot, "I thought you had been all spiritual and had needed no meat."—"Nay," quoth the monk, "I am not so spiritual nor fervent in contemplation, but that I must needs eat."—"Verily," said the abbot, "then must you also needs work, for *Mary* hath need of *Martha*." When the monk heard that, he repented and fell to work as the others did. And I would to God that this answer would cause our religious even so to do, and to fall to work, that they might succour their needy neighbours.

And as touching their study in Scripture, *St. Austin* saith: How shalt thou better learn to understand the Scripture, than by going about to fulfil that thou there readeest? And if thou go about to fulfil it, saith he, then must thou work with thy hands, for that doth *St. Paul* teach thee. Of this I have com-

piled a whole book, which, if God have me to finish it, and set it forth, shall be more perfection unto our religious, than they have used this hundred years,

### CHAP. III,

*The Conclusion of this Treatise ; that no Fl  
rejoice, but fear and tremble in all the  
he receiveth,*

Here mayst thou perceive that no man l  
he may fear and tremble, and most he m  
whom most is committed, for of him shall  
required : and much are we bound to than  
all things. For, of ourselves have we n  
sin and vanity, but through his gracious fa  
we all goodness, and are that we are. And  
our goodness cometh of him, we must  
thankful unto him, and keep his comma  
For else we may fear, lest he take his gifts  
and then shall we receive the greater damnat

If thou have received the knowledge of  
give him thanks, and be a faithful minister  
for else he shall deliver thee unto thine own f  
imagination, and cast thee headlong into a  
heresies, which shall bring thee into utter des

If he give thee faith in his word, give him  
and bring forth the fruits thereof in due se  
else he will take it away from thee, and s  
into final desperation.

If he give thee riches, then give him tha  
distribute them according to God's command  
else he shall take them from thee (if he lo  
either by thieves, by water, by death of th  
by blasting thy fruits, or such other scou

cause thee to love him; because he would alienate thine heart from them, this, I say, he will do, if he love thee, to make thee put thine whole trust in him, and not in these transitory things. But if he hate thee, then will he send thee great prosperity, and increase them plenteously, and give thee thy heaven in this world, unto thine everlasting damnation in the life to come; and therefore fear and take good heed while thou hast leisure.

If thou ask me, what his honour, praise, and thanks are? I answer, that his honour, praise, and thanks, are nothing else but the fulfilling of his commandments. If thou ask me, what his commandments are, as touching the bestowing of thy goods; I answer, his commandments are, that thou bestow them in the works of mercy, and that shall he lay to thy charge at the day of judgment. He shall ask you, whether you have fed the hungry, and given drink to the thirsty, and not whether you have builded abbeys and chauntries. He shall ask you, whether you have harboured the harbourless, and clothed the naked, and not whether you have gilded images, or given copes to churches. He shall ask you, whether you have visited the sick, and gone to the prisoners, and not whether you have gone a pilgrimage to Walsingham or Canterbury. And this I affirm unto thee, that if thou build a thousand cloisters, and give as many copes and chalices to churches, and visitest all the pilgrimages in the world, and espiest and seest a poor man, whom thou mightest help, perishing for lack of one groat; all these things whereon thou hast bestowed so much money, shall not be able to help thee. Therefore take good heed, and say not but that ye are warned.

If God have given thee thy perfect limbs and members, then give him thanks, and use them to the taming of thy body, and the profit of thy neigh-

bout. For else, if God love thee, he will send thee some maim or mischief, and take them from thee, that thy negligence and not using of them be not so extremely imputed unto thee. But if he hate thee, he shall keep them whole and sound for thee, that the not using of them be thy greater damnation. Therefore, beware and fear, giving him thanks according to his commandments. For we are his creatures, and are much bound to him, that he hath given to us our perfect members: for it is better for us to have our limbs and to work with them, distributing to others, than that others should distribute unto us: for "It is a more holy thing to give than to take:" yea, we are much bound unto him, although he have made us imperfect and mutilated: for we were in his hands (as we are yet) to have done with us whatsoever had pleased him, even to have made us the vilest creatures upon the earth.

I have read of a shepherd, which keeping his sheep in the field, espied a foul toad, and when he had well marked her, and conferred her shape and nature, unto himself and his nature, he feel a weeping, and cried out piteously. At the last came a bishop by, riding right royally; and when he saw the shepherd so sore lamenting, he reined his horse, and asked him the cause of his great wailing. Then answered the shepherd, "Verily, Sir, I weep for mine unkindness toward Almighty God: for I have given thanks to God for many things, but yet I was never so kind since I was born, as to thank him of this thing."—"What is that?" said the bishop. "Sir," quoth he, "see you not this foul toad?"—"Yes," quoth the bishop, "what is that to the purpose?"—"Verily," said the shepherd, "it is the creature of God as well as I am, and God might have made me even such a foul and unreasonable beast, as this is, if it had pleased him, and yet he hath not done so, but of

his mercy and goodness he hath made me a reasonable creature, after his own shape and likeness; and yet was I never so kind as to thank him that he had not made me so vile a creature; which thing I greatly bewail, and mine unkindness causeth me now thus to weep." With that the bishop departed, and I trust learned to do thereafter. And I beseech God that we may so do, and be the faithful followers of our Saviour Christ Jesu, to whom be praise, honour, and glory, for ever. Amen.

## A TREATISE

ON

## BAPTISM.

Written A. D. 1533, and entitled,

*A Mirror, or Looking Glass, wherein you may see the Sacrament of Baptism described, by  
• Frith.—At Page 91 of his Works.*

CONSIDERING the manifold and lamentable wherewith not the ignorant people only, but learned (as they seem), have been seduced touching the blessed sacrament of baptism; I thought it expedient therein to write my mind. True that means to bring again the blind hearts unto the right way, and I doubt not but the elect and chosen of God, who know their Shepherd's voice, and have the spirit to judge all things easily perceive whether this be conformable to the Master's voice, and shall hereby be admonished to leave their wandering in the dark and lothsom ways which lead unto death, and to walk without stumbling in the comfortable light, which bringeth consciences to rest, and to such peace, that all understanding.

One error is this: they put so great confidence in the outward sign, that without discretion they condemn the infants, which die ere they are baptized unto everlasting pain. Another is this: they are so strongly taken with the weak ceremonies, that they think, if a drunken priest leave out a word, as say ye;" or, "*credo*, say ye;" or forget to put spittle or salt in the child's mouth, that the c

not christened: yea, so much give they unto the beggarly salt, that they will say, "Spill not the salt, for it is our christendom;" and use also to swear by it; saying, "By this salt, that is my christendom." Alas, what blindness is this! These two errors are the principal, that I do intend at this time to confute. For when they are fallen, the others, that are grounded on these, must needs decay. First, we must mark three things in every sacrament to be considered; the *sign*, the *signification*, and the *faith*, which is given unto the words of God. The sign in baptism is the plunging down in the material water and lifting up again, by the which, as by an outward badge, we are known to be of the number of them, which profess Christ to be their Redeemer and Saviour.

This outward sign doth neither give us the Spirit of God, neither yet grace, that is, the favour of God. For if through the washing in the water, the spirit of grace were given, then should it follow, that whosoever were baptized in water should receive this precious gift; but that is not so, wherefore I must needs conclude, that this outward sign, by any power or influence that it hath, bringeth not the Spirit or favour of God. That every man receiveth not this treasure in baptism, it is evident: for put the case, that a Jew or an infidel should say that he did believe, and believe not in deed, and upon his words were baptized in deed (for no man can judge what his heart is, but we must receive him unto baptism, if he confess our faith with his mouth, albeit, his heart be far from thence), this miscreant, now thus baptized, hath received this outward sign and sacrament, as well as the most faithful man believing. Howbeit, he neither receiveth the Spirit of God, neither yet any grace, but rather condemnation. Wherefore it is evident that the exterior sign giveth not this gift, which is also as certain in all other sacra-

ments, yea, in the sacrament of the altar, which may be called a double sacrament. For it is not only a remembrance that the natural body of Christ was broken, and his blood shed for our redemption, as the Evangelists do testify, but also it is his spiritual body, which is the congregation of the faithful, as St. Paul testifieth, saying, "The bread which we break, is it not the partaking (that is to say, we that are partakers) of the body of Christ? For we (saith he), though we be many, yet are we one bread and one body." But for all that, the receiving of this sacrament giveth us not the Spirit of God, neither yet his favour: for the wicked receive it, as well as the good. Howbeit, that receiving, is to their damnation. Wherefore, it followeth, that the outward sign giveth no man any grace. Moreover, if the Spirit of God and his grace were bound unto the sacraments, then where the sacraments were ministered, there must the spirit of grace wait on; and where they were not ministered, should be neither spirit nor grace. But that is false, for Cornelius and all his household received the Holy Ghost, before they were baptized. In so much, that Peter said, "May any man forbid, that these should be baptized with water, which have received the Holy Ghost, as well as we?" And so he commanded them to be baptized, in the name of the Lord: here may we see, that as the Spirit of God lighteth where he will, neither is he bound to any thing. Yea, and this example doth well declare unto us, that the sacraments are given, to be an outward witness unto all the congregation of that grace, which is given before privately unto every man.

So, is baptism given before the congregation unto him, which before he receive it, hath either professed the religion of Christ, or else hath the word of promise, by the which promise he is known to be of the



sensible congregation of Christ; and for this cause, when we baptize one, that is come unto the age of discretion, we ask of him, whether he believe: if he answer, yea, and desire baptism, then is he baptized, so that we require faith in him, before he be baptized (which is the gift of God), and cometh of grace, and so it is an outward sign of his invisible faith, which before was given him of God. If an infant be brought unto baptism, whom his friends offer up willingly, to sanctify and fulfil the commandment and ordinance of God, we inquire of his friends before the congregation, whether they will, that their child be baptized; and when they have answered, yea, then receiveth he baptism. Here also went before the promise of God, that he of his grace reputeth our infants, no less of the congregation, than the infants of the Hebrews, and through baptism doth the congregation receive him, which was first received through grace of the promise. Thus may we see, that baptism bringeth not grace, but doth testify unto the congregation, that he, which is baptized, had such grace given him before: so is baptism a sacrament, that is, the sign of an holy thing, even a token of the grace and free mercy, which was before given him; a visible example of invisible grace, which is done and given through the gentleness of God. By this may we perceive, how gross their ignorance is, who, without discretion, condemn the infants, that depart out of this world; not baptized in our material water. For, if that water give no grace, as I have sufficiently proved, why should they condemn more, before that washing, than after? Besides, that the election of God is free and followeth not our faith, but faith followeth the election, as it is written; "and there believed, even as many as were ordained unto everlasting life:" for they, that are chosen from the beginning, are no

doubt chosen, before they had faith ; we ought not therefore to give such unadvised judgment on these children, which by their age have not yet heard our faith, seeing God's election is hidden from our eyes.

The children of Israel were a people, whom God had chosen from among all nations of the world, and gave them circumcision for a token and memorial of that election ; which circumcision was a figure of our baptism, and they thought, that the Gentiles, which were not carnally circumcised, had been all condemned. But their opinion deceived them, for there were also of the Gentiles, which, although they were not circumcised outwardly, were elect of God, and were spiritually circumcised, which only is the thing that God regardeth : as Paul testifieth, saying, " He is not a Jew, which is a Jew outward, neither is that circumcision any thing, which is outward in the flesh : but he is a Jew, which is hid within the circumcision of the heart." (Which is the cutting off, of carnal desires, and is the true circumcision.) This circumcision was in price with God, with the which, the Gentiles (as Job) were circumcised. And in like manner, may we say of our baptism, he is not a Christian man, which is washed with water, neither is that baptism which is outward in the flesh : but that is the very baptism, which God alloweth, to be baptized spiritually in the heart, that is, to subdue and weed out the branches of sin, that it reign not in your mortal bodies, and bring them into bondage under it : of the which our baptism is but a sign. And there are many (I doubt not) which are thus spiritually baptized, although their bodies touch no water, as there were Gentiles thus spiritually circumcised, and yet never cut of their foreskin.

Furthermore, the children of the uncircumcision are of the people and congregation of God as well as the children of the Hebrews, under the law, were

members of their congregation. I take the congregation of God, in this place, even somewhat largely, that is, for all them that are thought or counted to be the members of Christ; as it is taken, Mat. xiii. where Christ compareth it unto a net, which receiveth both good fish and evil: and again, Mat. xxv. where he likeneth the kingdom of heaven, that is to say, the congregation of God, unto ten virgins, of the which five were wise, and five foolish: but I speak not in this place of the elect, sanctified, and invisible congregation, which is without spot and wrinkle, and only known unto God, which hath chosen her, before the foundations of the world were laid; neither is it to be esteemed, but that God is as merciful unto us, which are of the spiritual Israel, as he was unto the carnal Israel. St. John, St. Paul, and such others, were they not (being infants) of the congregation of God, elect in Christ Jesu, before the creation of the world? Howbeit, in their infancy, they neither had faith, nor yet knew any thing of this election. Matthew, Zaccheus, the thief, and Mary Magdalen, were they not likewise so chosen? Yet they themselves knew it not until they were lightened of the Holy Ghost, and drawn unto Christ by our heavenly Father; neither knoweth any man of another's election, but every man may know his own, through his faith and will, that he hath to fulfil the law of God. Of this sensible congregation of Christ, was Judas, yea, and all the others which after forsook Christ; neither wist the Apostles, but that Judas had been of the elect, sanctified, and invisible congregation of Christ, as well as Peter or John; so that our judgment recounteth all, faithful and chosen, that seem to be; but Christ knoweth them that are his, and them that shall forsake him.

Now, is there an opinion, risen among certain, which affirm that children may not be baptized, until

they come unto a perfect age, and that, b  
 have no faith: but verily, me-thinketh,  
 are far from the meekness of Christ, and  
 which, when children were brought unt  
 ceived them lovingly, and embraced th  
 arms (Mark, x.); and when his disciples  
 bringers, he called them unto him, saying  
 children to come unto me, and forbid the  
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 our baptism doth not testify, that we are o  
 congregation, which was chosen and sai  
 Christ, before the world began, which  
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 is not possible one should perish; for the  
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 sacrament, but the sacrament may be as well  
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 hath faith, or have any promise of God;  
 matter will I pass over: for I trust the Eng  
 whom I write this) have no such opinions.

Now, will I proceed with the second poi  
 sacrament, which is the *signification*. The  
*tion* of baptism is described of Paul in th  
 the Romans, that as we are plunged bodil  
 water; even so, we are dead and buried w

from sin : and as we are lifted again out of the water ; even so, are we risen with Christ from our sins, that we might hereafter walk in a new conversation of life. So, that these two things, that is, to be plunged in the water, and lifted up again, do signify and represent the whole pith and effect of baptism, that is the mortification of our old Adam, and the rising up of our new man. What is the old Adam ? verily, even that which by natural inheritance is planted through Adam's fall in us ; as, to be unfaithful, angry, envious, covetous, slothful, proud, and ungodly, these and such other uses, wherewith our nature is venom'd, ought we with all diligence to cut off and mortify, that we may daily be more patient, liberal, and merciful, according to that which our baptism doth signify. In so much, that a Christian man's life is nothing else, save a continual baptism, which is begun when we are dipped in the water, and is put in continual use and exercise, as long as the infection of sin remaineth in our bodies, which is never utterly vanquished, until the hour of death ; and there is the great Goliath slain with his own sword (that is, death, which is the power of sin), and the gate of everlasting life is opened unto us ; and thus is Paul to be understood (Gal. iii.) ; where he saith, " All ye that are baptized into Christ, have put Christ on you ;" that is, you have promised to die with Christ, as touching your sins and worldly desires past, and to become new men, or creatures and members of Christ ; this have we all promised unto the congregation, and it is represented in our baptism. But, alas ! there are but few which indeed fulfil that they promised, or rather that the sacrament promised for them. And for this cause, it is called of Paul, the fountain of the new birth and regeneration (Tit. iii.), because it signifieth, that we will indeed renounce and utterly forsake our old life, and purge our mem-

bers from the works of iniquity through the virtue of the Holy Ghost, which as the water or fire doth cleanse the body, even so, doth it purify the heart from all uncleanness: yea, it is a common phrase in Scripture, to call the Holy Ghost, water and fire, because these two elements express so lively his purging operation.

Now, have we expounded the *signification* of baptism, which signification we may obtain only by faith, for if thou be baptized a thousand times with water, and have no faith, it availeth thee no more towards God, than it doth a goose, when she ducketh herself under the water. Therefore, if thou wilt obtain the profit of baptism, thou must have faith; that is, thou must be surely persuaded that thou art newly born again, not by water only, but by water and the Holy Ghost (John, iii.), and that thou art become the child of God, and that thy sins are not imputed to thee, but forgiven through the blood and passion of Christ, according unto the promise of God. This faith have neither the devils, neither yet the wicked. For the wicked cannot believe the remission of their sins, but fall unto utter desperation, and make God a liar, as much as in them is. For they believe not the testimony which he gave of his Son, and this is that testimony, that, "all, which believe on him, have everlasting life." (John, iii.) And the devils cannot believe it, for they have no promise made unto them. Thus, through Christ's blood, whereof our baptism hath its full strength and vigour, are we regenerate and made at one with the Father. For by our first natural birth, we are the children of wrath (Eph. ii.) and the enemies of God. (Rom. v.)

Finally, baptism is an ordinance instituted of God (and no practice of man's imagination), put in use in Christ's time, and after his resurrection commanded to be administred unto all that believe, whe-

ther they were Jews or Gentiles. For Christ saith to his Apostles, "Go ye and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." Wherefore, although it seem never so exterior a thing, yet ought it to be had in great price and much reverence, because it was commanded of God to be done. Besides that, it is an outward sign or witness unto the congregation of the invisible promise given before by grace unto every private man, and by it doth the congregation receive him openly to be counted one of them which were first received by faith, or through the grace of the promise: it putteth us also in remembrance, that we (advertising the kindness of God and our promise in baptism) may learn to die and mortify our rebelling members; otherwise giveth it no grace, neither hath it any secret virtue, as we have sufficiently proved, and therefore he is sure to blame, that so unadvisedly condemneth these infants, judging his brother, which is in God's hand, yea, and peradventure baptized in Christ's blood. For God's election is unknown to man.

Now, will I endeavour myself to overthrow and utterly put out the second error, which has long reigned and seduced many: and that is, of them which so strongly stick unto the weak ceremonies. Concerning the ceremonies of baptism, yea, and all others, we must behave ourselves wisely, as charity teacheth us, seeking the profit of many, that they may be saved. We must consider that we have our conversation with men in this world, of the which the most part know not God. Some are young, some weak, some perverse, and some stiff-necked and obdurate unto the young ceremonies, which although they be not noisome unto the faith, nor contrary unto the word of God, yet will it be hard to find such. They are good and expedient (as milk) to

lead the young tenderly into the more perfect knowledge of God. The second sort are the weak, whom in all things it behoveth us to have and bear their infirmities by charity : for thus (Acts, xv.) did Paul circumcise Timothy, for their sakes he had liefer to captive his own flesh and never eat flesh, nor drink wine, than offend one of them. The third kind of men are persons mean not so perfect, that they are clean without having no remnant of old Adam assailing them ; such are there none, but only Christ : but I know perfect, which have perfect knowledge in all things ; which know, that whatsoever entereth the belly defileth not the man ; which know such things be pure unto them that are pure ; which know, that if we eat, we are nothing altered, or if we eat not, we are nothing the worse. (1 Cor. viii.) These are free between their conscience, and may use all things : they are yet bound, as concerning their neighbour, which is weak and hath not the knowledge ; bound under the pain of sin, to abstain from eating of their conscience, for he sinneth against that woundeth another man's conscience. (1 Cor. x.) The fourth kind are self-willed and obstinate persons, who put confidence in such indifferent things, and think them not needful unto our salvation. Against such ought we to resist in the face, and not to bow our neck unto them, as Paul giveth us example ; he would not for their pleasure circumcise Timothy, but utterly resisted their obdurate ignorance. If thou make this division, thou shalt know how to stand thyself towards all men, but now it is meet that I shew thee, which are the ceremonies of baptism.

The ceremonies of baptism are easily explained, thou know what the substance of it is, and how the Apostles administred it : and where may



that better expressed than Acts, viii. where Philip baptized the eunuch, chamberlain to the queen Candace? This eunuch did acknowledge that Jesus was the Son of God, which is the sign of our faith, and desired baptism; and Philip, at the next water they came to, washed him in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. There will no man deny, but that that baptism was as full, and as good as ours, and yet was there neither font, nor holy water, candle, cream, oil, salt, godfather, or godmother. Wherefore, we may conclude that all these things are but ceremonies; that is to say, exterior things, which make baptism neither the better nor worse of a mite: this say I not, to have these ceremonies, that want judgment, disannulled, which are not noisome to our faith, for fear of offending the weak, but only that thou mayst know, how to use them, as indifferent, and to put no confidence in them. For then should they hurt and unquiet our conscience, if through negligence, or otherwise, any thing were undone, and so should they be an occasion to pluck us from Christ, which were instituted for a mean to bring us unto him. Therefore the seniors and ministers of the congregations ought to instruct their flocks to take these things indifferent, which neither save nor damn, whether they be done or undone. And if they perceive the people cleave too sore to them, then ought they to seek out a time convenient, and to abrogate or alter these ceremonies, or else they cannot escape the wrath of God. For they, that seek health in such ceremonies, are fallen from grace, and tread under their feet the blood of Christ, unto their condemnation. But their blood shall be required at your hands, which better should have instructed them. (Ezek. xxxiii.)

And as concerning godfathers and godmothers, they promise for their godchildren that they shall

mortify the root of sin, which springeth in t  
and subdue their lusts under the law of God.  
promise also, that they will instruct and b  
their godchildren in the faith of Christ : whi  
pertaineth unto their parents, for they are com  
of God to teach their children. So, that the  
should be either alone, or at the least the  
godfathers. But now-a-days the fathers ma  
suffered to know any thing themselves. How  
they then instruct their children? They k  
Scripture and word of God from you, and l  
in hand that it is heresy. Alas! how l  
you lack understanding? Perceive you not y  
they would keep you in darkness, because you  
not espy their privy practice and slight conv  
Are you so mad as to think that this blesse  
which made the evil good, will make the go  
Think you that this wholesome medicine,  
healeth all infirmities, is now changed into  
nature that it will poison you? Are ye so sim  
childish, to surmise that this godly doctrine,  
discloseth all hypocrisy, and confoundeth a  
sies, should make you to err, and fall into h  
I pray God, give you eyes to see, ears to he  
open your hearts, that you may perceive w  
pleasure is. For surely, ignorance shall no  
you, as Ezekiel (speaking in the person o  
saith unto the curates : " Thou son of man,  
made thee an overseer unto the house of Isra  
shalt hear the word of my mouth, and shalt  
them from me. If I say unto the wicked  
shalt surely die, and thou shew him not, no  
him to turn from his wicked way, that he m  
then he shall die in his wickedness, but I will  
his blood at thy hand. Yea, and if the ri  
turn from his righteousness, and do iniqui  
shall die, although thou shew it him not ;

die in his sin, but I will require his blood at thy hand." (Ezek. iii.) Take heed, you curates, unto your charge, and let no man excuse himself through ignorance.

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### EXTRACTS,

From a Treatise entitled, "*A Book on PURGATORY,*"  
in *Answer to Rastall, and Sir Thomas More.*

*From Page 27 of his Works.*

#### *On good Works.*

They that are the chief patrons and proctors of purgatory, do feign it for no other intent, but to purge evil works, and to be as a penance to supply the good works, which we lacked having in this world. But all this cannot bring us into heaven. For then were Christ dead in vain. And of this have we evident examples: Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, David, and all holy prophets, were excluded from heaven until Christ had suffered death, this all men testify. But if good works or penance could have brought them to heaven, they should not have tarried out of it so long. Therefore, I may conclude, that it is but vanity to imagine a purgatory for to purge evil works and supply good. For as I have shewed, that help not the patriarchs.

Peradventure, thou wilt say unto me, Shall I then do no good works? I answer, Yes. Thou wilt ask me, Wherefore? I answer, Thou must do them, because God hath commanded them. Thou wilt say, For what intent hath he commanded them? I answer, Because thou art living in this world, and must needs have conversation with men: therefore hath God appointed thee what thou shalt do to the

profit of thy neighbour, and taming of thy flesh. As Paul testifieth (Eph. ii.); "We are his work, made in Christ Jesu to good works, which works God hath prepared that we should walk in them." These works God would have us do, that the unfaithful might see the godly and virtuous conversation of his faithful, and thereby be compelled to glorify our Father which is in heaven. (Mat. v.) And so are they both profitable for thy neighbour, and also a testimony unto thee, by the which men may know that thou art the right son of thy heavenly Father, and a very Christ unto thy neighbour: and even as our heavenly Father gave his Christ unto us, not for any profit that he should have thereby, but only for our profit; likewise, thou shouldst do all thy good works, not having respect what commodities thou shalt have of it, but ever attending through charity, the wealth and profit of thy neighbour. Thou wilt yet object; Then see I no great profit that I shall have by them: I answer, What wouldst thou have? First, Christ is given thee freely, and with him hast thou all things. He is thy wisdom, righteousness, hallowing, and redemption (1 Cor. i.); by him art thou made inheritor of God, and fellow-heir with Christ. (Rom. viii.) This is freely given thee with Christ, before thou wast born, through the favour and election of God, which election was done before the foundations of the world were cast. (Eph. i.) Now, wert thou very fond and unkind, if thou thoughtest to purchase by thy works the thing which is already given thee. Therefore, must thou do thy works with a single eye, having neither respect unto the joys of heaven, neither yet to the pains of hell, but only do them for the profit of thy neighbour, as God commandeth thee, and let him alone with the residue.

To this well agreeth Paul (Eph. ii.), saying; "By

grace are ye made safe through faith, and that cometh not of yourselves, but it is the gift of God and cometh not of works, lest any man should boast himself." Lo! here, saith Paul, plainly, that our salvation is the gift of God and cometh not of works; if it come not of works, then are we worse than mad, to feign a purgatory. For the chiefest operation of that should be but to supply the works which we have not accomplished, being in this body.

Paul saith (Rom. xi.), "The remnant which are left at this time, are through the election of grace. If it be through grace, then is it not by works, for then grace were no grace. Or if it be for the works' sake, so is it not of favour and grace," according to that which he wrote before (Rom. iv.). "If Abraham (saith Paul) were justified by his works, then may he rejoice, but not before God. But what saith the Scripture? Abraham believed God, and that was imputed unto him for righteousness, for he that worketh, receiveth his reward, not of favour, but of duty." Now, if it be duty, then needeth he not to thank God, but rather himself, for then God giveth him nothing but that, which is his own, of duty. Where is then the praise and glory that we owe to God? Therefore it followeth in the same text: "Unto him that worketh not, but believeth in him that justifieth the wicked, is his faith imputed for righteousness." Now, if our salvation come of faith, and not through our works and deserts, then is purgatory shut out of door and quite vanisheth away.

Christ saith; "So hath God loved the world, that he would give his only Son, that all which believe in him, should not perish; but that they should have everlasting life." (John, iii.) Then what needeth purgatory? Thou wilt, peradventure, say, it is true, they shall have everlasting life; but they must first

go through purgatory. I answer, Nay, ver Christ affirmeth, and that with an oath, "which heareth his word, and believeth his word, which sent him, hath everlasting life. that he is gone already from death unto life." Wilt thou now say, that he shall go into purgatory? Forsooth, if that were true, and the fire as our prelates affirm, then went he not from death unto life, but rather from a small death unto death. The Prophet saith; "Precious is the sight of the Lord the death of his saints." (Ps. cxv.) And St. John saith, "Blessed are the dead which rest in the Lord" (Rev. xiv.): but surely, if they go into the painful purgatory, there to be tormented of fiends, then were they not blessed, but wretched.

God saith by Moses (Exod. xxxiii.), "I will shew mercy, to whom I shew mercy; and I will have compassion, on whom I have compassion." If our salvation be of mercy and compassion, can there be no such purgatory. For the mercy, is to forgive; but purgatory will have us punished and satisfied; so, that they twain are desperate and can in no wise agree. And look how many Scriptures commend God's mercy, even so many condemn this painful purgatory. The prophet saith, "The Lord hath not dealt with us after our sins, neither rewarded us according to our iniquities: because how high heavens are above the earth, even so hath he made his mercy to prevail over their sins, that they may worship him. And look, how far the east is from the west, even so far hath he set our sins from us" (Psal. ciii.) And before, in the same Psalm the Prophet exhorteth his soul to praise the Lord, "Praise the Lord (O my soul), which forgiveth all thine iniquities, and healeth all thy diseases." Now, if this be true that he ordereth us not acc

to our sins, but poureth his mercy so plenteously upon us, if also he forgive us all our iniquities, why should there be any such purgatory, to purge and torment the silly souls, and especially since all was forgiven them before?

Wilt thou not call him a ~~shrewd~~ creditor, which, after he hath freely forgiven his debtor, will yet cast him in prison for the same debt? I think every man would say on this manner, It was in his own pleasure, whether he would forgive it or not; and then of favour and compassion he forgave it. But now he hath forgiven it, he doth unrighteously to punish his debtor for it. And albeit, man repent his forgiving, and afterwards sue for his debt, yet God can never repent himself of his merciful gifts (Rom. xi.): and therefore will he never torment us for our trespasses, no, nor yet once remember them. (Ezek. xviii.)

Since God forgiveth the greater offences, why shall he not also forgive the less? He forgave freely much greater offences unto the publican, which acknowledged himself to be a sinner (Luke, xviii.), than those are for which men feign, that we must be tormented in purgatory. For there is no soul (as they grant themselves) that suffereth in purgatory for great crimes and mortal sins. But only for little petty *peccadulias*, i. e. small faults (if a man may be bold to use M. More's word), and for venial sins. He forgave much greater enormities unto the thief, to whom he said, This day shalt thou be with me, not in purgatory, but in Paradise (Luke, xxiii.): he forgave much greater to Mary Magdalen. (Luke, vii.) Is his hand now shortened? Is not his power as great as it was? Is he not as merciful as ever he was? Why leave we "the cistern of living water, and dig us pits of our own, which can hold no pure water?" (Jer. ii.) Why forsake we Christ, which

hath wholly purged us, and seek another of our own imagination? If thou believe the blood is sufficient to purge thy sin, why thou another purgatory?

St. Paul saith; "I desire to be loosed from my body, and to be with Christ." (Phil. i.) We had thought to have gone through purgatory, would not have been so hasty. For there we have had a hot birth and an heartless, and he rather have desired long to have lived, therefore, I suppose, that he knew nothing of purgatory, but that he rather thought (as the Church thought) that death should finish all his evils and sorrow, and give him rest in loosing him from his members, which were sold and captive under sin.

All Christian men should desire death, not because of their cross and affliction which they suffer in this present world, but because they sought themselves and their own profit, not the glory of God. But if we will wean ourselves from death, we must first consider, how sore it displeaseth God our Father, and then our own weakness and frailty, and our members so bound under sin, we cannot do nor yet think a good thought of ourselves. (2 Cor. iii.) Then shall we find occasion to lament our life, not for the troubles that we live in, but because we are so prone unto sin, and continually displease God our Father. What would he that would long live, but daily to heap sin upon sin? And therefore should we have a will to die, because that in death our sin is finished, and we shall no more displease God our Father. If we should feign a purgatory, it were not to imagine a greater obstacle to make us fly from death. For since every man in his knowledge himself a sinner (1 John, i.), he should believe that Christ's death were sufficient,



he must also go to purgatory: who should depart this world with a quiet mind?

The wise man saith; "The souls of the righteous are in the hand of God. They seemed to die in the eyes of the foolish, and their end was thought to be pain and affliction, but they are in peace." (Wisd. iii.) There is no man but he must needs grant me, that every faithful is righteous in the sight of God, as it is written (Hab. ii.), "The righteous man liveth by his faith," and (Rom. v.), "Because we are justified by faith, we are at peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ, &c." When these faithful or righteous depart, then saith this text, that they are fools, which think them to be in pain or affliction: for it affirmeth, that they are in peace. Now, since their purgatory, which they imagine, is pain and affliction, and yet feign that the righteous only shall enter into it after their death, then are they fools, that suppose there is a purgatory, or else this text cannot be true.

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*From the same Answer unto Sir Thomas More.—  
At Page 48 of his Works.*

*Of the Efficacy of the Death of Christ.*

Then cometh *Master More* to this imagination, that we should say, how no man's prayer or good deed can help another. And (saith he) if that were true, then could not Christ's bitter passion profit us.

Sir, mine opinion of Christ's death is this:

1. We have all sinned in Adam without our own consent and work.

1. And we are loosed from sin through Christ without our works or deservings.

2. Sin is come into the world through Adam, and is punished with death.

2. The death through Christ is turned into medicine, and clean finisheth sin.

3. One man's sin, which is Adam, hath damned many men.

3. One man's grace, which is Christ, hath quickened sin, and holpen many.

4. If one man's sin be able to condemn us of our works ;

4. Then much more is God's grace of free will to save us, without our works.

5. Sin, through Adam, was planted in us.

5. Grace, through Christ, is planted in us.

6. Sin hath had dominion over all men, since Adam.

6. Grace prevaieth over us, through Christ.

7. Death, through sin, is planted in us.

7. Life, through grace, is planted in us.

8. Death, through sin, hath dominion over us.

8. Life, through grace, prevaieth over us.

9. Sin and death have condemned all men.

9. Grace and life have saved all men.

10. Through Adam, Adam's sin was counted unto us for our own.

10. Through Christ, Christ's righteousness is imputed unto us for our own.

Of this you may perceive, that we thank Christ's death profiteth us, for we take his death and resurrection for our whole redemption and satisfaction. Now, as concerning men's good deeds, prayers, I say, that they profit our neighbour, yea, and good works were ordained for that purpose, that I should profit my neighbour through his prayer and prayer ought to be made to God for ever. But if I should grant that such works and good deeds should help them that are departed, then :

speake cleane without my booke, for the word of God knoweth no such thing. Let them, therefore, that pray for the dead, examine themselves well with what faith they do it, for faith leaneth only on the word of God, so that where his word is not there can be no good faith : and if their prayer proceed not of faith, surely it cannot please God. (Heb. xi.)

*From the Answer to Rastall's third Chapter, which would prove (saith Frith) that I deny Hell.—At Page 69.*

It seemeth (saith Rastall) by the reasons that Frith hath alleged, that his intent is to bring the people in belief that there is no hell; for I allege in my answer to Rastall's dialogue, the saying of St. Paul (Eph. i.), "Christ chose us in him before the beginning of the world, that we might be holy and without spot in his sight;" and again (Eph. v.), "Christ loved his congregation and gave himself for it, that he might sanctify it in the fountain of water through the word, to make it without spot or wrinkle or any such thing, but that it should be holy and without blame."

And upon these texts I conclude, that if Christ have so purged us that we are without spot, wrinkle, or blame in his sight (as Paul testifieth), then will he never cast us into purgatory. For what should be purged in them, that are without spot, wrinkle, or blame? And then somewhat to declare the matter, how we are sinners as long as we live, and yet without sin in the sight of God, add these words, which I would that all men did well note; and because Rastall leaveth out the best of the matter, I will rehearse my own words again.

Peradventure, every man perceiveth not what this meaneth, that we are righteous in his sight, seeing that every man is a sinner (1 John, i.); therefore, I will briefly declare the meaning of the Apostle. This is first a clear case, that there liveth no man upon the earth without sin, notwithstanding all they that were chosen in Christ, before the foundations of the world were laid, are without spot of sin in the

sight of God (Eph. i.) : so that they are both sinners, and righteous; if we consider the imperfection of our faith and charity, if we consider the conflict of the flesh and the spirit (Gal. v.) : if we consider our rebellious members which are under sin (Rom. vii.) ; then are we grievous sinners : and contrariwise, if we believe that, of that merciful favour, God gave his most dear Son to redeem us from our sin ; if we believe that he imputeth not our sins unto us, but that his wrath is pacified in Christ and his blood, if we believe that he hath freely given us his Christ, and with him all things, so that we be destitute of no gift (Rom. viii.) ; then are we righteous in his sight, and our conscience at peace with God, not through ourselves, but through our Lord Jesu Christ. (Rom. v.) So mayst thou perceive that thou art a sinner in thyself, and yet art thou righteous in Christ, for through him is not thy sin imputed nor reckoned unto thee : and so are they to whom God imputeth not their sins, blessed, righteous, without spot, wrinkle, or blame (Rom. iv. Psal. xxxii.), and therefore will he never thrust them into purgatory ; and for proof of this, I allege (as Rastall beareth me witness) divers texts of St. Paul (Eph. ii. Rom. iv. v. vii. viii.) ; but that notwithstanding, Rastall saith, that I have not recited them sufficiently, for I have left out somewhat, which I have rehearsed for the opening of the truth, and then bringeth in that St. Paul exhorteth and biddeth us, that we shall use no fornication, uncleanness, avarice, filthy or foolish speeches, for such shall have no inheritance in the kingdom of heaven : and even so, say I too, but judge, good reader, what is this to the purpose : for it neither maketh for purgatory, neither against it. This text I could have alleged, if I had endeavoured myself to prove that we should do good works (which I never knew Christian man deny), but else,

as touching my matter it is nothing to the  
and as well he might have reprov'd me,  
bring in no text to prove, that the Father  
is God, or to prove that, which never ma  
of.

Then he, Rastall, allegeth Paul (Rom. v.  
" Though grace do reign through Christ  
therefore dwell in sin? nay God forbid," s  
and even so say I again: he allegeth, I  
that " there is no damnation to them wh  
Christ Jesu if they live not after the flesh ;  
so, say I, but Rastall will say the contrary :

Besides that, he allegeth (Rom. iii.) we  
justified by grace, by Christ's redemption t  
justice for the remission of sin done bef  
yet saith Rastall) Paul saith that the law i  
stroyed by faith, but made stable, but this l  
left out of his book to cause the people t  
that they be clean purged by the blood  
only, and that there need no purgatory.

By these words you may evidently perce  
Rastall meaneth by this alleging of Paul, f  
tablishing of the law, verily, that the wo  
law should justify and clean purge you  
which is contrary to Paul and all Scripture  
in this same chapter that he allegeth, Pa  
that " of works of the law, no flesh shall b  
in his sight," and saith, that " the right  
of God cometh by faith of Jesu Christ unto  
upon all that believe." But as touching goo  
I will touch more hereafter.

Furthermore, Rastall saith, that if my a  
could prove that there is no purgatory, it m  
as well that there is no hell for us that are  
men, though we continue still in sin: for  
blessed, without spot, wrinkle, or blame,  
therefore he will not cast us into purgatory ;

will not cast us into hell, whatsoever sin we do commit.

Here, Rastall uttereth his blindness unto you, and sheweth you what understanding he hath in Scripture: first, he armeth himself with a false supposition, and yet thereupon he concludeth his argument falsely. His supposition is this, that all men, which are baptized with material water, are very Christian men, and have the true faith, and are those which Paul affirmeth to be without spot, blame, or wrinkle. But thereto, I say, nay, for even as the outward circumcision made not the Jews, the elect people, and children of salvation; so, doth not the outward baptism make us the faithful members of Christ: but as they were the children of God, which were inwardly circumcised; even so, they that are washed inwardly from the concupiscence of this world, are the members of Christ, whom Paul affirmeth so to be purged through his blood. Again, you may know that Rastall knoweth none other faith, but that which may stand with all manner of sin; but the faith which we speak of, is the same which worketh through charity, whereof Paul speaketh. (Gal. v.) They that have this faith, are born of God and sin not: these, that have this faith, do hope and look daily for deliverance out of this thralldom and body of sin: and in the mean season they purify themselves, as he is pure. For if a man will say, that he knoweth Christ, or believeth in him, and keepeth not his commandments, he is a liar, and we renounce him to be any of this number that we speak of. And when Rastall saith, I would conclude there is no hell for them that are Christian men, though they continue still in sin: I answer, he that committeth sin is of the devil; and I say again, that the Christians that we speak of, which are the children of God, cannot continue still in sin, but seek all means to fulfil God's commandments. Notwithstanding,

the Christians which Rastall speaketh of, which are the children of the devil, may do as they list : and indeed they had need to make a friend of Rastall to help them into his purgatory, if it be any better than hell : for they shall never come into heaven, except they repent and walk innocently in this world, as Christ and his little flock have ever done : for they, that walk otherwise, are none of his, though they wear mitres.

This little flock it is that are so purged (and not Rastall's multitude) ; and for this, is there neither hell nor purgatory ordained ; even as for the hope, that continueth still in sin, is ordained no heaven. And that there is no hell ordained for these faithful followers of Christ, I will prove even by this word of Paul, which Rastall rehearsed before (Rom. viii.) ; that " there is no damnation to them that be in Christ Jesu, if they live not after the flesh." Here Rastall hath smitten the ball quite under the cord, and hath alleged that, that shall condemn him. For if there be no damnation : but because you are somewhat slow in perceiving the matter, I shall reduce it into a syllogism on this manner : there is no damnation unto them that are in Christ Jesu if they live not after the flesh, but after the spirit.

Every hell is damnation.

Therefore, there is no hell to them that are in Christ Jesu, if they live not after the flesh but after the spirit. This is the conclusion : not by any profit that I think the poor commonalty can take by such babbling, but only to satisfy your mind and pleasure. Notwithstanding, one thing I must put you in remembrance, that you have falsely translated the text ; for the text hath not that conditional, although I was contented to take it at your hands to see what you could prove : but the text saith thus, " There is no damnation to them that are in Christ Jesu, which



walk not after the flesh but after the spirit." Where Paul doth certify you, that they which are in Christ Jesu, walk not after the flesh but after the spirit, so that you may gather by Paul, that if they walk not after the spirit, they are not in Christ Jesu, that is to say; they are none of Christ's; although Rastall will call them Christian men, therefore, dear brethren, look that no man deceive himself, for Christ is not the minister of sin. If we be delivered from sin through Christ, then must we walk in a new conversation of our life, or else we are still in darkness. Remember, that we have this precious treasure in frail, brittle, and earthy vessels, let us therefore with fear and trembling, work our health (salvation), and make stable our vocation and election, for if we retain the truth and knowledge of God in sin and unrighteousness, we shall shortly perceive the wrath of God upon us with infinite delusions, and the end of us shall be worse than the beginning; awake therefore and understand your health.

Now, you may see, how he concludeth that I establish this error, that there is no hell; for seeing my arguments, and Paul (Rom. viii.) do conclude, that there is no hell nor damnation to them that be in Christ Jesu, and are his faithful followers, he thinketh it should well follow, that if there be no hell for them, that there is no hell for any man: for in his second chapter, and also in the beginning of the third, he saith, that I deny hell, and when we come to his probation, there is nothing said but that which Paul confirmeth, that is, "There is no damnation for them that are in Christ Jesu, which walk not after the flesh, but after the spirit," which are through Christ without spot, wrinkle, or blame. And so though Rastall appear to himself to conclude like a sage philosopher, yet I answer you, he concludeth like an ignorant sophister, as all men may

see, for it followeth not : Paul and Frith say, there is no hell, as contrariwise, it followeth not there is no heaven, for Rastall's Christian men which continue still in sin, therefore there is no heaven for the devil their father, and yet is there heaven for Christ and his elect. I have before declared how Christ's elect are sinners and no sinners. And now because you should not mistake the texts of St. John, which I before alleged, I will shew you how they do commit sin, which I did also sufficiently touch in my answer against Rastall's dialogue, even two leaves from the end, and yet I will touch it again, because you shall not think, that I would leave you in ignorance and darkness.

There are two parts in a faithful man, which rebel each against the other, and are at continual strife, and both of them have divers names in Scripture; the one is called the inward man, the heart, the mind, the will, and the spirit; the other is called the outward man, the rebellious members, the body of sin, and the flesh; and these in a faithful man keep continual war, and albeit the one be subdued and taken prisoner of the other, yet never consenteth to his enemy: he cannot leave him, neither will make peace with him, but will labour what he can, and will call for all, that he thinketh will help him, to be delivered from his enemy; and thus warreth upon him afresh, what time the faithful man is brought to the knowledge of God, and believeth in Christ, and hath his will and mind renewed with the spirit of God, that consenteth to the law of God, that it is good, righteous, and holy, and beginneth to love the law, and hath a will and a desire to fulfil the law of God, and not to despise his heavenly Father. And look, how much he loveth the law, counting it righteous and holy; even so much doth he hate sin, which the law forbiddeth, and abhorreth it in his

heart and inward man, and then albeit the outward man and rebellious members do at times besiege him and take him captive under sin, yet doth not the inward man consent, that this sin is good, and the law naught which forbiddeth it, neither doth the heart delight in this same sin, neither can it delight in such sin, because the spirit of God testifieth unto him, that it is abominable in the sight of God: and then fighteth the inward man against the outward with faith, prayer, alms-deeds, and fasting, and laboureth to subdue the members, lamenting that he hath been overcome, because he feareth to displease God his Father, and desireth him for the blood of his Son Christ, that he will forgive that, which is past, and his diligence that he taketh in taming his members, is not recompense towards God for the sin that is past, but to subdue the flesh that he sin no more. This rebellion had Paul (Rom. vii.) saying, "that he did not that good thing which he would, but the evil which he hated, that he did;" that is, he did not fulfil the good law of God, as his heart, will, and inward man desired, but did the evil, as touching his flesh and outward man, which he hated, and so he sinned with his outward man; then how is this true, that he that committeth sin is of the devil, and he that is of God committeth no sin: was not Paul of God? Yes, verily, and albeit he committeth sin with his members and outward man, yet he sinned not, for he saith, If I do that thing that I hate, then is it not I that do it, but the sin that dwelleth in me; and even likewise the faithful followers of Christ commit no sin, for they hate it, and if they fortune to be entangled with sin, it is not they that do it (as Paul saith), but the sin that dwelleth in them, which God hath left to exercise them, as he left the Philistines to exercise and nurture the children of Israel; and if the remnant of

sin fortune at any time to look aloft and begin to reign, then he sendeth some cross of adversity or sickness to help to suppress it. And thus shall it be as long as we live, but when we are once dead, then our members rebel no more, and then needeth neither purgatory nor any other cross; for the outward man is turned into vanity, and our inward man was ever pure, through believing the word of God, and never consented to sin, and needeth neither purgatory in this world, nor in the world to come, but only for subduing the outward man, and therefore after this life he shall never have any purgatory. Mark well what I say, and read it again, for more shall read it than shall understand it, but "he that hath ears, let him hear."

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*To what End good Works are available.—From  
Page 75.*

Now, are we come to the fourth error, where Rastall untruly reporteth on me, that I would persuade the people that good works done by any man in this world are nothing available unto him that doth them, and that it is no hurt nor hindrance unto any man, though he never do any. Because, I say, they justify not before God, therefore he thinketh, that other men would understand me as wisely as he doth, and argue that they are nothing available; but I must desire him to put on his spectacles and look again upon my book, and he shall find these words: "Peradventure, thou wilt answer unto me, Shall I then do no good deeds? I answer, Yes: thou wilt answer me, Wherefore? I answer, Thou must do them because God hath commanded them. I answer, Thou art living in this world with

men, and hast conversation with them, therefore hath God appointed thee what thou shalt do to the profit of thy neighbour and taming of thy flesh, as Paul testifieth (Eph. ii.), "We are his work in Christ Jesu, unto good works, which works God hath prepared that we should walk in them." These works God would have us do, that the unfaithful might see the godly and virtuous conversation of his faithful, and thereby be compelled to glorify our Father which is in heaven (Mat. v.): and so are they both profitable unto thy neighbour, and also a testimony unto thee, by the which a man may know that thou art the right son of thy heavenly Father, and a very Christ unto thy neighbour: and after teacheth that we ought to do these works without having respect either to heaven or hell, but attending through charity the wealth of our neighbour, &c."

I wonder that Rastall is not ashamed to say that I would make them believe that they are not available; therefore, good reader, note my words: first, I say, we must do them, because God hath commanded them, is it not available to keep the commandments of God? Secondly, I say, that they are to the profit of thy neighbour: is it not available? Thirdly, I say, that they tame our flesh: is it not available? Fourthly, I say, they are the glory of God: is it not available? Fifthly, I say, they are a testimony to him that doth them, by the which men may know that he is the very son of God: is that not available? Belike, Rastall counteth nothing available, but that which justifieth before God; he will say the sun is not available, because it justifieth not, fire is not available in his eyes, because it justifieth not, &c.

Then Rastall saith, that I make a wonder's work with the Scripture, and allegeth certain texts that we ought to do good works (which I never denied),

and thereupon would conclude that works save and justify, and playeth me the ball lustily over the cord ; but as God would, there stood a post right in the way, and he hit it so full, that it made the ball to rebound over again backward ; for in alleging for his purpose what Paul saith (Eph. ii.), he hath clean lost the game : the words are these, “ By grace you be saved by your faith, and that is not of you, it is the gift of God and not of works that no man should glorify himself, we are the works created of God in Christ Jesu which God hath prepared that we should walk in them :” here because he would have the latter end of the text to serve for his purpose which teacheth good works (which I never denied), he bringeth in that thing which clean confuteth his own opinion ; for his opinion (which in all places he hath laboured to prove) is, that we are saved by good works ; but now mark what he allegeth out of Paul ; “ By grace you be saved by your faith : and that is not of you, it is the gift of God and not of works ; for that no man should glorify himself :” here Paul saith plainly that our salvation is not of works : and so hath Rastall cast down that he built before, and may be likened to a shrewd cow, which when she hath given a large mess of milk turneth it down with her heel.

Thus have I answered to as much of Rastall's treatise as I could get : if there be any more which may come to my hands, I shall do my diligence to disclose his deceit ; so that God give me leave to keep the court with him, he shall win but little, except he convey his balls more craftily, and yet the truth to say we play not on even hand, for I am in a manner as a man bound to a post, and cannot so well bestow me in my play, as if I were at liberty, for I may not have such books as are necessary for me, neither yet pen, ink, nor paper ; but only se-

cretly, so that I am in continual fear, both of the lieutenant and of my keeper, lest they should espy any such thing by me; and therefore it is little marvel, though the work be imperfect: for whensoever I hear the keys ring at the door, straight all must be conveyed out of the way; and then if any notable thing had been in my mind, it was clean lost, and therefore, I beseech thee, good reader, count it as a thing born out of season, which for many causes cannot have his perfect form and shape, and pardon me my rudeness and imperfection.

## A LETTER.

*Which John Frith wrote unto the faithful Followers of Christ's Gospel, while he was Prisoner in the Tower of London, for the Word of God. A. D. 1532.*

GRACE and peace from God the Father, through our Saviour Christ Jesu, be with all them that love the Lord unfeignedly. Amen.

It cannot be expressed, dearly beloved in the Lord, what joy and comfort it is to my heart to perceive how the word of God hath wrought and continually worketh among you: so, that I find no small number walking in the ways of the Lord, according as he gave us commandment, willing that we should love each other, as he loved us. Now, have I experience of the faith which is in you, and can testify that it is without dissimulation, that ye love not in word and tongue only, but in work and verity.

What can be more trial of a faithful heart, than to adventure not only to aid and succour by the means of others (which without danger may not be admitted unto us), but also personally to visit the poor oppressed, and see that nothing be lacking unto them, but that they have both ghostly comfort, and bodily sustenance, notwithstanding the strait inhibition and terrible menacing of these worldly rulers: even ready to abide the extreme jeopardies that tyrants can imagine.

This is an evidence, that you have prepared yourselves to the cross of Christ, according unto the counsel of the wise man, which saith; "My son, when thou shalt enter into the way of the Lord, prepare thyself unto tribulation." This is an evidence that ye have cast your accompts, and have where-



with to finish the tower which ye have begun to build. And I doubt not, but that He which hath begun to work in you, shall for his glory accomplish the same, even unto the coming of the Lord, which shall give unto every man according to his deeds.

And albeit, God of his secret judgments for a time, keep the rod from some of them that ensue his steps, yet let them surely reckon upon it, for there is no doubt but "all which will devoutly live in Christ, must suffer persecution:" "For whom the Lord loveth he correcteth, and scourgeth every child that he receiveth: for what child is that whom the father chastiseth not? If ye be not under correction of which we are all partakers, then are ye bastards and not children."

Nevertheless, we may not suppose that our most loving Father should do that, because he rejoiceth in our blood or punishment, but he doth it for our singular profit, that we may be partakers of holiness, and that the remnants of sin (which through the frailty of our members, rebel against the spirit and will, causing our works to go imperfectly forwards), may somewhat be suppressed, lest they should subdue us and reign over us, as I have sufficiently declared in the epistle of my book, which treateth of purgatory, to the which I remit them that desire to be further instructed in this matter.

Of these things God had given me the speculation before, and now it hath pleased him to put in use and practice upon me. I ever thought, and yet do think, that to walk after God's word, would cost me my life at one time or another. And albeit, that the king's grace should take me into his favour, and not suffer the bloody Edomites to have their pleasures upon me; yet will I not think that I am escaped, but that God hath only deferred it for a season, to the intent that I should work somewhat that he

hath appointed me to do, and so to use me unto his glory.

And I beseech all the faithful followers of the Lord, to arm themselves with the same supposition, marking themselves with the sign of the cross, not from the cross as the superstitious multitude doth, but rather to the cross in token that they are ever ready willingly to receive the cross, when it shall please God to lay it upon them. The day that it cometh not, count it clear won, giving thanks to the Lord, which hath kept it from you. And then when it cometh, it shall nothing dismay you: for it is no new thing, but even that which ye have continually looked for. And doubt not but that God which is faithful shall not suffer you to be tempted above that which ye are able to bear, but shall ever send some occasion by the which ye shall stand steadfast: for either he shall blind the eyes of your enemies, and diminish their tyrannous power, or else when he hath suffered them to do their best, and that the dragon hath cast a whole flood of waters after you, he shall cause even the very earth to open her mouth and swallow them up. So faithful is he and careful to ease us, what time the vexation should be too heavy for us.

He shall send a Joseph before you, against ye shall come into Egypt; yea, he shall so provide for you, that ye shall have an hundred fathers for one, an hundred mothers for one, an hundred houses for one, and that in this life, as I have proved by experience; and after this life, everlasting joy with Christ our Saviour.

Notwithstanding, since this steadfastness cometh not of ourselves, for, as St. Austin saith, there was never man so weak or frail, no not the greatest offender that ever lived, but that every man of his own nature should be as frail, and commit as great

enormities, except he were kept from it by the spirit and power of God: I beseech you, brethren in the Lord Jesu Christ, and for the love of his Spirit, to pray with me that we may be vessels to his laud and praise, what time soever it pleaseth him to call upon us.

The Father of glory give us the spirit of wisdom, understanding, and knowledge, and lighten the eyes of our mind, that we may know his ways, praising the Lord eternally. If it please any of our brethren to write unto us of any such doubts, as peradventure may be found in our books, it should be very acceptable unto us, and, as I trust, not unfruitful for them: for I will endeavour myself to satisfy them in all points by God's grace. To whom I commit to be governed and defended for ever, Amen.

JOHN FRITH,

*The prisoner of Jesu Christ, at all  
times abiding his pleasure.*

## ANTITHESIS.

*Wherein are compared together the Acts of Christ and the Pope, gathered by John Frith, and annexed unto a Work called "The Revelation of Anti-Christ," which he translated—A. D. 1529.*

WE have annexed, Christian reader, unto the end of the revelation, a little treatise after the manner of an epitome and short rehearsal of all things, that are examined more diligently in the aforesaid book, wherein their false and cloaked hypocrisy is abundantly opened, by the comparing of Christ's acts and theirs together: for Christ's rule cannot be deceivable, which saith that we should know them by their works, for Paul saith, that such false apostles are wicked workers which are transfigured into Christ's Apostles. And no marvel, for Satan himself is sometimes transfigured into an angel of light, therefore it is no great thing, if that his ministers do take upon them a similitude, as though they were the ministers of justice, whose end shall be according to their works. Christian men should mark such, and fly away from them, for such serve not Christ but their own bellies. And by sweet preachings, and flattering words they deceive the hearts of the innocents. And even as Jannes and Jambres withstood Moses, even so these resist the truth, men they are of corrupt minds, and lewd as concerning the faith, but they shall prevail no longer, for their madness shall be uttered unto all men, as theirs was. Thus the people are blinded, falling into unbelief, and are deceived through the slight conveyance of anti-christ and his adherents. St. John said, that there were many anti-christs in his time; no wonder if now be more, howbeit, by their works they shall be known, and also by their words, for they shall

contradict Christ both in life and learning, whom they profess to follow. Now, let us consider popes, cardinals, bishops, suffragans, archdeacons, deacons, officials, parsons, abbots, with deans, and friars, sumners, pardoners, and these papal notaries, take heed to monks, canons, anchorites, and hermits, nuns, and sisters, and mark, how they follow Christ. We will chiefly touch the head, which is the pope, although it may be verified through all his members,

1. Christ was poor, saying, "The foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests, but the Son of Man hath not whereon to lay his head."

The pope and his adherents are rich, for the pope saith, "Rome is mine, Sicily is mine, Corsica is mine, &c." And his adherents have also fruitful possessions, this every man knoweth.

2. Christ was meek and low, and forsook this worldly glory, and fled alone unto the mountains, when the people would have made him a king, saying, "My kingdom is not of this world."

The pope is full high and proud, saying, "I am a lord of both the realms, earthly and heavenly, and the emperor is my subject:" this witnesseth his law.

3. Christ full lowly and meekly washed his disciples feet.

The pope saith, "The emperors and kings shall kneel and kiss my feet:" and is not ashamed to express it in the law.

4. Christ came not to be served, but to serve, taking upon him the similitude of a servant, humbling himself, and made himself of no reputation, to serve us.

The pope will be served, and saith, "It were a shame if he should so humble himself."

5. Christ went on his feet with his disciples, both in wet and dry, heat and cold, to teach the people, as it is evident through the gospels.

The popes and bishops will keep their feet full clean with shoes of gold and silver, set with precious stones, and will not preach themselves, but say, it is sufficient to cause others to preach.

After this manner might the Turk be pope also.

6. Christ would not suffer that doves, sheep, and oxen for the offering, should be sold in the temple of God, but drove out the buyers, and sellers with whips.

The pope and bishops suffer chapmen in the church, that minister the sacraments for money daily unto the common people. And they give great pardon unto it, that they may be partakers of the winning, to maintain their cradles and other necessities withal; this you may see daily.

7. Christ saith, "Ye have it for nothing, therefore shall you give it for nothing."

The pope hath Judas' mind, for you get nothing of him without money, for he selleth both prayer and preaching.

8. Christ sat at meat among his disciples, full lowly and poorly, not requiring the highest seat.

The pope sitteth full high in a curious throne, and will be served gloriously with long kneeling, and men to carve his morsels, with jagged coats, blaspheming God with oaths and many other vices, as we may see daily.

9. Christ was in hills with weeping and praying, and walked in deserts, feeding many thousands, both with meat and preaching.

The pope sitteth in his castles and towers with minstrelsy and laughter. And the hungry poor shall sit at the gate, he will not serve them himself, for shame he thinketh it were.

10. Christ lay and slept in a boat on the hard boards, and had to his chamberlains but fishers, crying to him upon the sea in the tempest, when they were afraid to perish.

The pope sleepeth full soft and easily, and no man may awake him until he have slept enough, for his chamberlains shall be ready with marshals and ushers, to keep his hall and chamber from noise. And the porter at the gate to keep out the poor. Their lord they will not awake.

11. Christ fasted and sought the fruit on the tree, when he was hungry, and found none thereon.

The pope hath great provision at cities and towns, to get him of the best that may be found, well dressed and daintily; to make digestion with spicery, sauces, and syrops coloured out of kind.

12. Christ lay in a stable, with few clothes, betwixt an ox and an ass, for the place was narrow.

The pope in rich chambers, with quilts, curtains, carpets, and cushions spread all about, with sweet smells and painted walls.

13. Christ chose to him poor men, and commanded them to be simple as doves.

The pope chooseth subtil men and crafty, full of pride, or else they are not meet for him.

14. Christ rode simply on an ass, and had twelve that followed him afoot all about.

The pope, on a mule or a white palfrey much higher than his master did. And hath many more than twelve following him on horseback with swords and bucklers, as it were to battle.

15. Christ bade his disciples to go into all the world, and to preach the Gospel to every creature.

The pope and his bishops forbid it in the pain of disobedience and excommunication, save only such as they will assign.

16. Christ was naked, beaten, scourged, and had false witness brought against him.

The pope and his adherents are well clothed with precious garments, and have change for each day, and false witness they have enough, not against

them, but to testify with them, whatsoever they will have against the innocents.

17. Christ came to seek the poor and comfort them, he was not chargeful unto them, but was mild, and had pity on them.

The pope and bishops summon and cite them, be they never so poor, not regarding their adversity. But curse, if they come not. So, that they go away sorrier and sicker in soul, and in purse, than they were before.

18. Christ commanded that we should not swear at all, neither by heaven, neither by the temple, &c.; but that our words should be yea, yea, nay, nay.

The pope saith, If any man will receive any office under us, he shall be sworn before, yea, and give a great sum of money.

19. Christ had a crown of thorns thrust upon his head, so that the blood ran down upon his amiable countenance, and sharp nails through his precious hands.

The pope must wear three crowns of gold, set with rich precious stones, he lacketh no diadems, his hands and fingers with owches and rings are royally dight; he far passeth Christ, who was poor.

20. Christ took the cross of painful affliction upon himself, and commanded his disciples to follow him, saying, "He that taketh not his cross, and followeth me, is not meet for me."

The pope and his bishops take the cross of pride, and have it borne before them, well gilt and enamelled, to have a worship of this world; as for other cross, know they none.

21. Christ prayed his Father to forgive them that trespassed against him, yea, and for them that put him to death.

Our bishops pray the king to be avenged on them,



that resist their minds ; with forgiveness they have no acquaintance.

22. Christ bade his disciples to preach the Gospel.

The pope and his bishops will have men to preach fables, and there to grant letter and seal, and many days of pardon.

23. Christ commanded his disciples to know his law, and bade the Jews to search the Scriptures. And Moses exhorted the Israelites to teach the law of God to their young children ; and that they should have it bound as a sign in their hands, that it might ever be before their eyes ; and caused them to write it on the posts and doors of their houses.

The pope and his bishops say, that it is not meet for us to know it, they make it heresy and treason to the king, to know Christ or his laws ; they have digged cisterns of their own traditions, and have stopped up the pure fountains of Israel. Oh ! Lord (in whom is all our trust), come down from the heavens, why dost thou tarry so long, seeing thine adversary thus prevailing against thee ?

24. Christ approved his law, and confirmed it with his own death.

The pope and bishops are full busy, how they may destroy it, and magnify more their own law than Christ's, to maintain their fat bellies.

25. Christ would, that men visited prisoners, to comfort and deliver them.

The pope with his adherents discomfort the poor and the true, and put them in prison for the truth.

26. Christ, whom they call their example, did never imprison nor persecute any.

The pope and his champions, persecute, punish, imprison, and put to death them that are disobedient to their voluptuous pleasures. Ye see how straight they follow Christ's steps.

27. Christ commanded his disciples that if any

man trespassed against them, they should go and reprove him privily; if he would not obey and be reconciled, then should they take with them one witness or twain, if he would not then hear them, that they should tell it to the whole congregation, And if he would still continue in his stubbornness, that they should avoid his company.

The pope and bishops will cast straight into prison, there to remain in irons, to make them revoke the truth, and grant to their wills, and if he be strong and will not forsake the truth, they will condemn him without audience, for fear of losing of their temporal winnings and offerings, and taking away of their temporalities, wherewith the church is venomed.

28. Christ charged Peter thrice, to keep well and nourish his sheep.

The pope chargeth much more to keep well his money: as for the sheep, he sheareth and punisheth with infinite exactions.

29. Christ healing the sick, and doing many miracles, did ever command that they should tell no man who did heal them.

The pope and bishops give great gifts to minstrels and messengers, to lewd liars and flatterers to cry their name about, that they may have worship in this world.

30. Christ had no secular courts to plead the matters of his disciples, for they would not resist evil.

The pope and bishops have many, with men of law to oppress the poor against mercy; forgive they will not, but ever be avenged.

31. Christ in cities and towns hunted the fiends out of men that they dwelled in, with the words of his mouth.

The pope and bishops hunt the wild deer, the fox, and the hare, in their enclosed parks, with

great cries, and horns blowing, with hounds and horses running.

32. God was called the holy Father of Jesu Christ, his Son.

The pope is called most holy father of Satan's children, and taketh that name on him with Lucifer's pride: his disciples say, that he is god on earth; and we are taught by Christ's law to have but one God.

33. Christ sat in the midst of the doctors, asking and hearing them.

The pope and bishops sit in thrones, with glorious mitres, judging and condemning by their own made laws. A little matter is long in pleading, which might be soon determined by the law of God, if they would use it, but then were their winning the less, and their law without profit.

34. Christ taught that a man should forsake his wife for no cause but for adultery.

The pope and bishops will make divorces for money, as often as they list, and so they pill the poor and make themselves rich, nothing regarding to break the law of God.

35. Christ sent the Holy Ghost in fervent love, to teach all the truth unto them which were chosen of God.

The pope and bishops send commandments all about, to curse and ask vengeance on them that resist their tyranny, and absolve them again clean for money: all their doctrines have golden tails, for money is ever the end; give them money, and you have fulfilled all their laws.

36. Christ fulfilled and kept the old law, and the new, and all righteousness.

The pope and bishops keep their own traditions and laws, but the law of God is clean out of their minds.

37. Christ said, that men should know his dis-

ciples by their charity, because they should love one another, as he hath loved them.

The pope causeth his to be known, by their shaven crowns, by gathering up of tythes, mass-pence, and offerings, by the golden trentals and salaries to sing, by Peter-pence gathering, and shriving for money, by penny-wedding, and by holy water sprinkling, and many more marks hath he given them: as for charity, they know it not at all.

38. Christ bade them, that he healed, to go and sin no more.

The pope and bishops have feigned penance, and command men to fast on bread and water, to go barefoot, without a shirt, and to offer to certain idols, money or cattle: some masses must be sung for them; because their confessors should have some profit. Some must go about the church and churchyard, with a taper burning in his hand: and even some are punished by the purse, though they offend not.

39. Christ sent to preach, seventy and two disciples, which promised freely heaven to them; that would believe in the name of Christ.

The pope and bishops send about four sects of beggars to give pardon under their master anti-christ; and to sell heaven to whomsoever they list. The Apostles knew no such things.

40. Christ was buried in a garden in a poor monument, without any funeral pomp.

The pope and bishops are buried in tombs well gilt, with many a torch and great solemnity, with angels gloriously portrayed that bear their souls to heaven. Notwithstanding, it is to be feared that they go to supper with the devil.

41. Christ saith, "If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell all thy goods, and give it unto the poor, for then shalt thou have treasure in heaven."

The pope saith, "If thou wilt be perfect give me thy money, and I will give thee a pardon, that shall absolve thee clean; I will for thy money give thee the key of heaven gates."

42. Christ said unto his Apostles, "The kings and princes of the Gentiles have rule and power over them, but you shall not so have."

The pope saith, "All emperors, kings, and lords are my subjects." This is daily read in his Bulls, wherein he commandeth the nobility, like as a master doth his servants.

43. Christ saith, "He that among you will be greatest, let him be servant of you all,"

The pope saith, "The emperor must swear an oath unto me, as unto his lord, that he will be my subject, and exalt and worship me with honour."

44. Christ saith, "that we worship him in vain with men's doctrines and traditions."

The pope saith, "My traditions in the spiritual law, shall be kept as duly, as if God had commanded it himself, or St. Peter had preached it himself."

45. Christ saith, "I am the way and the truth, follow me in my learning, and rule you by the Scripture, for that shall be your judge."

The pope saith, "Ye shall in all things follow the church of Rome (by that meaneth he himself and his cardinals): and as for the Scripture, it standeth in my power and authority, for I may make of it whatsoever I will."

46. Christ saith, "He that believeth and is baptized, he shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be damned."

The pope saith, "He that giveth much money for my pardon shall be absolved: and then must he needs be saved: and he that teacheth otherwise is an heretic;" this testify his bulls and pardons.

47. Christ promiseth forgiveness of sin, and the

kingdom of heaven, unto them that repent and will amend their lives.

The pope saith, "that no man can be saved, except he be first shriven of his priests and friars;" for they bring in money.

48. Christ saith, "You shall love your enemies, and shall do good unto them that hate you."

The pope saith, "They, that are enemies to me and my cardinals, are cursed with the great excommunication, and cannot be absolved without much money;" this is evident enough.

49. Christ commanded his disciples not to resist evil, but if a man strike them on the one cheek, that they should offer him the other also.

The pope saith, "we may avenge and drive away force with force."

50. "Christ (saith God the Father) is my dear Son, him shall you hear, for his yoke is sweet and his burden light."

The pope saith, "You shall hear me, and my commandment shall be kept and received of every man. And if my commandment and burden were so heavy that it cannot well be sustained and borne, yet shall ye obey me."

51. Christ said unto the two brethren, "Who hath sent me to be your judge in temporal goods?" As though he should say, It pertaineth not to me, but unto worldly judges.

The pope saith, I am judge in all manner of causes, for they bring money unto me.

52. Christ saith, "Give the emperor such as pertaineth unto him, as tribute and custom, for I have paid toll for me and Peter."

The pope saith, "I care not for this, but I excommunicate all them that ask any toll or tribute of me and my shavelings, for I have made them all free."

53. Christ saith, "Peter, put up thy sword into the sheath, for he that striketh with sword shall perish with the sword."

The pope saith, "You emperors, kings, princes and lords, take swords, spears, halberts, clubs and guns, and help me to slay them, that will not obey my tyranny." This must an emperor do, or else he must be perjured. After this manner, hath Julius the pope slain sixteen thousand men in one day: was not that well pastored? Did not he well nourish the sheep which Christ did commit unto his tuition?

54. Christ said, "Drink you all of this cup, for this is the blood of my promise."

The pope saith, "I will not grant this, for my priests alone shall drink of it (because it may cry vengeance on them alone); the other shall not drink of it in the pain of heresy."

55. Christ saith, "Ye are my friends, if you do all things that I myself command you."

The pope saith, "You shall do as I bid you, for I have power and authority to make laws. And after them shall you live."

56. Christ saith, "All meats that man taketh with thanks stain not the soul, for all things are pure to them that are pure."

The pope saith, "He that eateth eggs, butter, or flesh in these days that I have commanded to be fasted, doth not only stain his soul with sin, but also is to be denounced an heretic." This agreeth with Christ even as the light doth with the darkness. And yet have we been thus blinded long, that we could never perceive this anti-christ, till now in the last days.

57. Christ said unto his disciples, "That you bind in earth shall be bound in heaven, and that you loose in earth shall be loosed in heaven."

The pope challengeth greater authority, for he will loose souls out of purgatory, and command the

angels to fetch them out, and all for money ; without money you get nothing.

58. Christ saith, " When you have done all things that I have commanded you, yet say, that you are unprofitable servants."

The pope saith, " Do those things that I command thee, and take a sure conscience unto thee that thou art a just and a religious man, and that thou hast deserved heaven. And as for myself, if I do wrong in every thing, and bring many thousands with me into damnation, yet shall no man rebuke me, but call me the most holiest father."

59. Christ teacheth us to fulfil the works of mercy to the poor, ever commending mercy above offerings and sacrifice.

The pope teacheth us, to give our money for pardons, masses, dirges, to images, and churches, so that we may offer unto their bellies. And he that saith, it is better to give our charity to the poor (as Christ saith), is counted half an heretic, because he goeth about to mar the pope's market.

60. Christ suffered death for our sins and arose for our justification, or else we all should have perished.

The pope saith, " If thou buy my pardon, or else be buried in a grey friar's coat, thou must needs be saved ;" so that Christ hath suffered in vain, since a friar's coat will save a man.

61. Christ only is our mediator, which maketh unity betwixt his Father and us, howbeit, the prayer of a just man is very good and profitable.

The pope saith, " The greatest power and salvation next to Christ is mine." I marvel then why he is so curious to cause us to worship the saints that are asleep, and not rather himself, since he challengeth a greater power than ever they did while they lived.

62. Christ saith, " Whosoever breaketh one of my



least commandments, shall be called the least (that is, to say none) in the kingdom of heaven."

The pope saith, "What pertaineth his law unto me? I am subject to no laws." Therefore doth the pope but seldom right: and is always against right, yea, and against his own laws, as often as men do bring him money, for that loveth he above all things.

63. Christ's law is fulfilled through charity.

The pope's law is fulfilled by money: if thou have no money to give them, thou shalt carry a fagot, though thou offend not; money them, and they see thee not, do what thou wilt.

64. Christ is the head of the church, as the Apostle doth testify. And also the stone whereon the church is builded. And this church is the congregation of the faithful, and the very body of Christ.

The pope saith, "I am the head of the church. And the seat of Rome is the stone whereon the church is builded."

Can any thing be more contrary unto the honour and glory of God, than thus to despoil him of his kingdom, which he so dearly hath bought, shedding his precious blood for it?

65. Christ's law, which is the holy Scripture, came by the inspiring of the Holy Ghost, which did infuse it abundantly into the hearts of the Apostles, and of the same Spirit hath it his indurance and interpretation.

The pope saith, "I am lord of the Scripture, to allow and disallow it, for of me doth it take its full authority." And for a token of this, is the Scripture of Christ laid tunder his feet, when he is at mass.

66. Christ's Apostle saith, that a bishop ought to be so well learned, that he with the Scripture, be able to overcome all them that are against the faith.

The pope and bishops will dispute in Scripture with no man, but cast them first in prison, and proper

engines they have invented to wring their fingers so sore, that the blood shall burst out at their fingers' ends; they pine them, and scourge them with infinite other torments paining them to forsake the truth; and after make them swear on a book, that they shall tell no man of it; thus cruelly do they entreat them against justice: and if they cannot subdue them to their wills, then do they commit them unto the secular power to be burned.

67. Christ's accusation, and cause why he was condemned unto death, was written over his head in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, that all men might know the cause: this was an argument that they used justice (although they condemned him unjustly), since men might see the offence and judgment joined together.

The pope and bishops condemn men, and commit them unto the secular power, that they should execute the sentence. But this is a mischievous abomination, that they will not suffer the secular power to know the cause why they put men to death. O you gentle nobility, ponder this matter indifferently. Beware, how you do execution, except you know the cause why. Think you the blood shall not be required of you, if for another's pleasure you destroy the work of God? They will say unto you, as the Jews said unto Pilate concerning Christ: if he were not an evil doer we would not have delivered him unto you. Trust not their words, for (no doubt) they are liars, know the cause yourselves, and hear the matter unfeignedly. Think you they would not let you know the cause and judgment, if they did justice, and not tyranny? Be therefore no longer boys to them which ought to be your servants. God hath given you his Spirit, grace, and understanding: hide not the talent that God hath given you, but do

your diligence to see justice executed, secluding all tyranny, for that is your office appointed you of God.

68. Christ saith, "Blessed are ye when men hate you, curse you, and excommunicate you for righteousness sake;" that is to say, you being nothing guilty, nor worthy such affliction.

The pope and bishops say, that their curse is sore to be feared, yea, and that it maketh men as black as a coal in the sight of God, though they have not offended. Insomuch, that they must needs be damned, except they absolve them again: howbeit, Christ saith, that they are blessed: wherefore Christ is false, or else they are most vain liars.

69. Christ said, "When thou makest a dinner or feast, call not thy friends, kinsmen, and neighbours that are rich, but the poor, lame, and blind, which are not able to recompense thee; then shalt thou be happy, for it shall be rewarded thee in the resurrection of the just."

The pope and bishops will call none such, for they think it great shame; but they call men of great authority and riches, which will receive them with another feast: they had rather have their bellies well stuffed in this world, than to tarry for the promise of Christ. They think it long a coming.

70. Christ saith, "Either make the tree good and his fruit good also, or else make the tree naught and his fruit naught also:" meaning, that the tree first should be good, and then bring forth good fruit: the fruit maketh not the tree good, but the tree maketh the fruit good, although we cannot know that the tree is good, but by his fruit (for we can judge nothing but by his outward operation), yet God seeth the quickness in the root, which in the time that God hath appointed him, shall bring forth his fruit; and approveth the tree to be

good, although he seem dead unto us. The tree is faith, which is the matter of all good works, which ever worketh by charity, when he seeth occasion.

The pope and bishops say, that the fruit maketh the tree good, clean contrary to all scripture and reason. And thus turn they the trees and the roots upwards, while they affirm that faith springeth and is made good of works. And not the contrary, even as a man would say, the fruit bringeth forth and maketh good the tree, and not the contrary. O! what madness is this? They would make men believe, if they should long continue, that the moon is made of green cheese.

71. Christ saith, "I am the door of the fold: he that entereth not in by the door, but by some other way, is a thief and a murderer, and regardeth not the sheep."

The pope, yea, and all the clergy (for the most part) enter not in by Christ, but they run in, and are not called nor sent of Christ: one entereth by a bag of money, wherewith he buyeth a fat benefice. And another entereth by serving great men, and currying favour. Another, because he is a great man born, must be made a cardinal, or else a bishop. Some have advowsons of abbeyes and other places, to speak a good word for them to the king or other great men. Some enter through their curious singing, and minion dancing, few or none for virtue and learning.

72. Christ saith, "I am a good shepherd, a good shepherd giveth his life for his sheep."

The pope and bishops say also, that they are good shepherds, howbeit, they pill and shear the sheep so nigh, that they leave not one lock of wool on their backs. And in all points may be likened unto the shepherds, that Zacharias prophesied of; which saith, "I shall raise up a shepherd in the earth, which shall not visit the things that are forsaken,"

and shall not seek that which is gone astray, neither yet heal the diseased, nor nourish and maintain that which standeth, but such a shepherd that shall nourish himself and not the sheep, and crieth out of him, saying, O thou shepherd and idol, think you that this shepherd will give his life for the sheep?"

73. Christ saith, " Desire you not to be called master, for you have but one master, which is Christ, and all you are brothers."

The pope will be called, *most holy*; his cardinals, *most reverend*; his bishops, *reverend*; his abbots and priors *most worshipful*, and other glorious titles have they that pass their master far. And except thou call them by those names and titles, thou shalt run far into their indignation, let Christ say what he will.

74. Christ commanded his disciples that they should call no man father on the earth, shewing them that they had but one Father, which is in heaven.

The pope must be called, *most holy father*; if thou give him not that name he will excommunicate you out of his synagogue; reason not with him, you may shew him the Scripture, but it availeth not, for he will wrest it and wring it into a thousand fashions; and will never leave it until he have brought it unto his own purpose.

75. Christ's faithful servant Stephen said, that " God Almighty dwelleth not in temples that are made with man's hands, according unto the prophet's saying; Heaven is my seat, and the earth is my footstool. What house will you build for me? saith the Lord. Which is the place of my rest? Did not my hands make all these things?"

The pope and his adherents say, that he dwelleth in this place and that place; the friars say, We have him, you must buy him of us; the monks say, He is with

us, be good to our monastery, and you shall be sure to have him. And so run the silly souls from Herod to Pilate. But they find not Christ, for he dwelleth in no place, but in the heart of a faithful man, which is the very temple of God.

76. Christ's Apostle Paul saith, we ought not to think that God is like gold, silver, carved stones, or any such things as man imagineth.

The pope and his adherents say, that he is like a stock and a stone, and causeth men to make images of him, though God commanded contrary; saying; "Thou shalt make no graven image, neither any manner of similitude of those things which are in heaven above or on the earth beneath; neither of those things which are in the water, or under the earth, neither shalt thou honour or worship them." Good Christian, beware of these idols, as St. John counselleth thee; truly, I think it be one of the greatest causes of this execration which God hath sent into the world for sin.

77. Christ said unto Peter, "Thou art Simon, the son of Jonas, thou shalt be called Cephas, which if it be interpreted, signifieth a stone," as St. John saith in his Gospel.

The pope saith, that Cephas signifieth the head, and of that gathereth he to be head of all the bishops: here doth he plainly contrary to the Gospel which expoundeth Cephas to be a stone; what impudence is this? I think he would say also, that an ass were a man, if he thought to get any advantage through it.

There are infinite other things, wherein he contradicteth Christ, insomuch, that if it be diligently examined, I think there is no word that Christ spake, but the other hath taught or made a law against it. Howbeit, to avoid tediousness, we shall leave them unto your own judgment, for they are soon searched

out and espied. Judge, Christian reader, all these things with a simple eye, be not partially addicted to the one nor to the other; but judge them by the Scripture: and acknowledge that to be true, which God's word doth allow, avoiding all other doctrine, for it springeth of Satan. Be not ashamed to confess Christ (and to take him for thy head) before these ravenous wolves, for then shall he confess thee again before his Father and the angels in heaven. Then shalt thou be inheritor with Jesu Christ, and the faithful son of thy Father which is in heaven, to whom be all glory eternally. Amen.

*Here endeth the Antithesis between Christ and  
the Pope.*

## EXTRACT

*From a Work on the Sacrament of the Body of Christ, occasioned by some Animadversions of Sir Thomas More, upon a former little Treatise of Frith's on the same Subject. "The Foundation of that little Treatise was, that it is no Article of our Faith, necessary to be believed, under Pain of Damnation, that the Sacrament should be the natural Body of Christ : which Thing is proved in this Manner."— At Page 108 of his Works.*

FIRST, we must all acknowledge, that it is no article of our faith which can save us, nor which we are bound to believe under the pain of eternal damnation. For if I should believe, that his very natural body both flesh and blood were naturally in the bread and wine, that should not save me, seeing many believe that, and receive it to their damnation, for it is not his presence in the bread that can save me, but his presence in my heart, through faith in his blood, which hath washed out my sins, and pacified the Father's wrath towards me. And again, if I do not believe his bodily presence in the bread and wine, that shall not damn me, but the absence out of my heart, through unbelief. Now, if they would here object that though it be true, that the absence out of bread could not damn us : yet are we bound to believe it, because of God's word, which who believeth not, as much as in him lieth, maketh God a liar : and therefore of an obstinate mind not to believe his word, may be an occasion of damnation.

To this we may answer, that we believe God's word, and acknowledge that it is true : but in this we dissent, whether it be true in the sense that we take it in, or in the sense that ye take it in. And



we say again, that though ye have (as it appeareth unto you) the evident words of Christ, and therefore consist in the bark of the letter : yet are we compelled, by conferring of the Scriptures together within the letter, to search out the mind of our Saviour which spake the words.

And we say thirdly, that we do it not of an obstinate mind : for he that defendeth a cause obstinately (whether it be true or false), is ever to be reprehended. But we do it to satisfy our consciences, which are compelled by other places of Scripture, reasons, and doctrines, so to judge of it. And even so, ought you to judge of your party, and to defend your sentence, not of obstinacy, but by reason of Scripture, which causes you so to take it. And so ought neither part to despise the other, for each seeketh the glory of God, and the true understanding of the Scriptures.

This was the foundation of my first treatise, that he hath left unshaken, which is a great argument that it is very true : for else his pregnant wit could not have passed it so clean over, but would have assailed it with some sophistical cavillation, which by his painted poetry he might so have coloured, that at the least he might make to the ignorant some appearance of truth, as he hath done against the residue of my first treatise, which nevertheless is true, and shall so be proved.

And first, that it is none article of our faith, necessary to be believed under pain of damnation, may thus be further confirmed. The same faith shall save us, which saved the old fathers before Christ's incarnation : but they were not bound under pain of damnation to believe this point : therefore it shall follow that we are not bound thereto under the pain of damnation. The first part of mine argument is proved by St. Austin, and I dare boldly say almost

in an hundred places. For I think there is no proposition which he doth more often inculcate than this ; that the same faith saved us which saved our fathers. The second part is so manifest, that it needeth no probation. For how could they believe the thing which was never said nor done ? and without the word, they could have no faith : upon the truth of these two parties must the conclusion needs follow. Notwithstanding, they all did eat Christ's body and drink his blood spiritually, although they had him not present to their teeth. And by their spiritual eating (which is the faith in his body and blood) were saved is well as we are. For as soon as our forefather Adam had transgressed God's precept, and was fallen under condemnation, our most merciful Father of his gracious favour gave him the promise of health and comfort, whereby as many as believed it, were saved from the thralldom of their transgression ; the word and promise was this : " I shall put enmity between thee and the woman, between thy seed and her seed ; that seed shall tread thee on the head, and thou shalt tread it on the heel." In this promise they had knowledge, that Christ should become the seed or son of a woman, and that he should destroy the devil with all his power, and deliver his faithful from their sins. And where he said, that the devil should tread it on the heel, they understood right well, that the devil should find the means, by his wiles and wicked ministers, to put Christ to death. And they knew that God was true, and would fulfil his promise unto them, and heartily longed after this seed, and so did both eat his body and drink his blood, acknowledging with infinite thanks, that Christ should for their sins take the perfect nature of manhood upon him, and also suffer the death. This promise was given to Adam, and saved as many as did believe, and were thankful to

God for his kindness; and after it was established unto our father Abraham by the word of God, which said; "In thy seed shall all nations of the earth be blessed." And with him God made a covenant that he would be his God, and do him good. And Abraham again promised to keep his precepts and walk in his ways. Then God gave him the sacrament of circumcision, and called that his covenant, which thing, notwithstanding, was not the very covenant in deed, although it was so called; but was only a sign, token, sacrament, or memorial of the covenant that was between God and him, which might expound our matter, if men had eyes to see. After that, God promised him a son, when his wife was past child-bearing, and he also very old. Nevertheless, he doubted not of God's word, but surely believed that he which promised it, was able to perform it. And it was recounted unto him for righteousness. This Abraham did both eat his body and drink his blood (through faith), believing verily, that Christ should take our nature, and spring out of his seed (as touching his flesh), and also that he should suffer death to redeem us. And as Christ testifieth, he heartily desired to see the day of Christ: and he saw it and rejoiced; he saw it in faith, and had the day of Christ, that is to say, all those things that should chance him, plainly revealed unto him, albeit, he were dead many hundred years before it were actually fulfilled and revealed unto the world. And by that faith was he saved, and yet never did eat his flesh with his teeth, nor never believed that bread should be his body, and wine his blood. And therefore since he was also saved without that faith, and the same faith shall save us, which saved him; I think that we shall also be saved, if we eat him spiritually (as he did), although we never believe that the bread is his body. Furthermore, that merciful

Moses, which brought the children of Israel out of Egypt into the wilderness, obtained of God by prayers, both manna from heaven to feed his people, and also water out of the stone to refresh and comfort them. This manna and water were even the same thing unto them, that the bread and wine are to us. For St. Austin saith, "As many as in that manna understood Christ, did eat that same spiritual meat, that we do; but as many as sought only to fill their bellies of that manna (the fathers of the unfaithful) did eat and are dead. And likewise the same drink, for the stone was Christ."

Here, may you gather of St. Austin, that the manna was unto them, as the bread is to us, and likewise, that the water was to them as the wine is to us, which anon shall appear more plainly. St. Austin saith further, "Moses also did eat manna, and Aaron and Phineas did eat of it, and many others did there eat of it, which pleased God, and are not dead. Wherefore? Because they understood the visible meat spiritually. They were spiritually an-hungred, they tasted it spiritually, that they might spiritually be replenished. They did all eat the same spiritual meat, and all drank the spiritual drink: even the same spiritual meat, albeit, another bodily meat, for they did eat manna, and we eat another thing; but they did eat the same spiritual, which we do. And they all did drink the same spiritual drink. They drank one thing and we another: but that was in the outward appearance, which nevertheless did signify the same thing spiritually. How drank they the same drink? They (saith the Apostle) "drank of the spiritual stone following them, and that stone was Christ." And thereunto Beda added these words: "Behold that the signs are altered, and yet the faith abideth one."

Of these places you may plainly perceive, not only that it is no article necessary to be believed under

pain of damnation, seeing the old fathers never believed it ; and yet did eat Christ in faith, both before they had the manna, and more expressly through the manna with no less fruit when the manna was ceased. And albeit, the manna was to them as the sacrament is to us, and they eat even the same spiritual meat that we do, yet were they never so mad as to believe that the manna was changed into Christ's own natural body : but understood it spiritually, that as the outward man did eat the material manna which comforted the body, so did the inward man, through faith, eat the body of Christ, believing that as that manna came down from heaven and comforted their bodies, so, should their Saviour Christ, which was promised them of God the Father, come down from heaven and strengthen their souls in everlasting life, redeeming them from their sins by his death and resurrection. And likewise, do we eat Christ in faith, both before we come to the sacrament, and more expressly through the sacrament, and with no less fruit, after we have received the sacrament, and need no more to make it his natural body than the manna was, but might much better understand it spiritually : that as the outward man doth eat the material bread, which comforted the body, so doth the inward man through faith eat the body of Christ, believing that as the bread is broken, so was Christ's body broken on the cross for our sins, which comforteth our souls unto everlasting life. And as the faith did save them, without believing that the manna was altered into his body, even so, doth this faith save us, although we believe not that the substance of bread is turned into his natural body. For the same faith shall save us, which saved them. And we are bound to believe no more under pain of damnation, than they were bound to believe. They believed in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven

and earth, and all that is in them. They did believe that Christ was the Son of God. They did believe that he should take our nature of a virgin. They believed that he should suffer the death for our deliverance, which thing was signified in all the sacrifices, and besides that, testified in every prophet, for there was verily not one prophet, but he spake of that point. They believed that his soul should not be left in hell, but that he should arise from death and reign everlastingly with his Father. And to be short, there is no point in our creed, but that they believed it as well as we do; and those articles are only necessary unto salvation. For them am I bound to believe, and am damned without excuse, if I believe them not.

But the other points contained in Scripture, although they be undoubted verities, yet may I be saved without them. As be it in case, that I never heard of them, or when I heard of them, I cannot understand them, nor comprehend them, or that I fear them and understand them: and yet by the reason of another text misconstrue them, as the Bohemians do the words of Christ in the sixth of St. John. All these, I say, may be done without any jeopardy of damnation. In every text is but only one verity, for which it was spoken, and yet some texts there are, which of catholic doctors are expounded in six or seven sundry fashions. Therefore, we believe these articles of our creed; in the other is no peril, so that we have a probable reason to dissent from them. But now to return to our purpose, if we will examine the authorities of St. Austin and Beda, before alleged, we shall espy that besides the probation of this foresaid proposition, they open the mystery of all our matters to them that have eyes to see. For St. Austin saith, that we and the old fathers do differ as touching the bodily meat,

for they did eat manna, and we bread, but albeit it vary in the outward appearance, yet nevertheless spiritually it did signify one thing. For both the manna and bread do signify Christ. And so both they and we do eat one spiritual meat, that is to say, we both eat the thing which signifieth and representeth unto us the very one spiritual meat for our souls, which is Christ. And Beda doth plainly call both the manna and the bread signs, saying, "Behold that the signs are altered, and yet the faith abideth one." Now, if they are signs, then do they signify, and are not the very thing itself, which they do signify, for the sign of a thing differeth from the thing itself, which it doth signify and represent. As the ale pole is not the ale itself, which it doth signify and represent. Here thou wilt object against me, that if this faith be sufficient, what needeth the institution of a sacrament? I answer, that sacraments are instituted for three causes. The first is assigned of St. Austin, which saith on this manner: "Men cannot be joined unto any kind of religion, whether it be true or false, except they are knit in fellowship by some visible tokens or sacraments, the power of which sacraments is of such efficacy, that cannot be expressed. And therefore it maketh them, that despise it, to be abhorred, for it is wickedness to despise that thing, without which godliness cannot be brought to pass." Thus it appeareth, that necessity is the first cause. For there can no congregation be served out of the multitude of men, but they must needs have a sign, token, sacrament, or common badge, by the which they may know each other. And there is no difference between a sign or a badge, and a sacrament, but that the sacrament signifieth an holy thing, and a sign or a badge doth signify a worldly thing, as St. Austin saith, "Signs when they are referred to holy things are called sacraments."

The second cause of their institution is, that they may be a means to bring us unto faith, and to imprint it the deeper in us, for it doth customably the more move a man to believe, when he perceiveth the thing expressed to diverse senses at once, as by example : if I promise a man to meet him at a day appointed, he will somewhat trust my word : notwithstanding, he trusted not so much unto it, as if I did both promise him with my word, and also clap hands with him, or hold up my finger, for he counteth that this promise is strong and more faithful, than is the bare word, because it moveth more senses. For the word doth but only certify the thing unto a man by the sense of hearing, but when with my promise immediately after I hold up my finger, then do I not only certify him by the sense of hearing ; but also by his sight, he perceiveth that that fact confirmeth my word. And in the clapping of hands he perceiveth both by his sight and feeling (beside the word), that I will fulfil my promise. And likewise, it is in this sacrament, Christ promised them, that he would give his body to be slain for their sins. And for to establish the faith of his promise in them, he did institute the sacrament, which he called his body, to the intent that the very name itself might put them in remembrance what was meant by it, he brake the bread before them, signifying unto them outwardly, even the same thing, that he by his words had before protested, and even as his words had informed them by their hearing, that he intended so to do : so the breaking of that bread informed their eyesight, that he would fulfil his promise. Then he did distribute it among them to imprint the matter more deeply in them, signifying thereby that even as that bread was divided among them, so, should his body and fruit of his passion be distributed unto as many as believed his words. Finally, he caused



them to eat it; that nothing should be lacking to confirm that necessary point of faith in them, signifying thereby, that as verily as they felt that bread within them, so sure should they be of his body through faith. And that even as that bread doth nourish the body, so doth faith in his body-breaking, nourish the soul unto everlasting life. This did our merciful Saviour (which knoweth our frailty and weakness) to establish and strengthen their faith in his body-breaking and blood-shedding, which is our sheet anchor and last refuge, without which, we should all perish.

The third cause of the institution and profit that cometh of it, is this. They that have received these blessed tidings and word of health, do love to publish this felicity unto other men; and to give thanks before the face of the congregation unto their bounteous benefactors, and as much as in them is, to draw all people to the praising of God with them; which thing, though it be partly done by the preaching of God's word and fruitful exhortations, yet doth that visible token and sacrament (if a man understand what is meant thereby) more effectually work in them both faith and thanksgiving, than doth the bare word: but if a man wot not what it meaneth, and seeketh health in the sacrament and outward sign, then may he be well likened unto a fond fellow, which when he is very dry, and an honest man shews him an ale-pole, and tell him that there is good ale enough, would go and suck the ale-pole, trusting to get drink out of it, and so to quench his thirst. Now, a wise man will tell him that he playeth the fool, for the ale-pole doth but signify that there is good ale in the house where the ale-pole standeth, and will tell him that he must go near the house, and there he shall find the drink, and not stand sucking the ale-pole in vain; for it shall not ease him, but

rather make him more dry, for the ale-pole doth signify good ale; yet the ale-pole itself is not good ale, neither is there any good ale in the ale-pole. And likewise it is in all sacraments; for if we understand not what they mean, and seek health in the outward sign: then we suck the ale-pole and labour in vain. But if we do understand the meaning of them, then shall we seek what they signify, and go to the significations, and there shall we find undoubted health. As to our purpose in this sacrament whereof we speak, we must note what it signifieth, and there shall we find our redemption. If signifieth, that Christ's body was broken upon the cross to redeem us from the thralldom of the devil, and that his blood was shed for us, to wash away our sins. Therefore, we must run thither, if we will be eased. For if we think to have our sins forgiven for eating the sacrament, or for seeing the sacrament once a day, or for praying unto it: then surely we suck the ale-pole. And by this you may perceive, what profit cometh of those sacraments, which either have no signification put unto them; or else when their significations are lost and forgotten; then no doubt they are not commended of God, but are rather abominable: for when we know not what they mean, then seek we health in the outward deed, and so are injurious unto Christ and his blood. As by example, the sacrifices of the Jews were well allowed and accepted of God, as long as they used them aright, and understood by them the death of Christ, the shedding of his blood, and that holy oblation offered on the cross, once for ever. But when they began to forget this signification, and sought their health and righteousness in the bodily work, and in the sacrifice itself: then were they abominable in the sight of God, and then

he cried out of them, both by the prophets David and Esaias: and likewise it is with our sacraments; let us therefore seek up the significations, and go to the very thing which the sacrament is set to present unto us. And there shall we find such fruitful food, as shall never fail us, but comfort our souls unto life everlasting.

## A DEFENCE

*Of the Character of some of the Refs  
the Aspersions cast upon them by  
More, in his Book against Frith.—Frith  
Work, at Page 116.*

SIR Thomas More says, "Frith tea few leaves shortly all the poison that Wicklampadius, Huskin, Tindal, and Zuir taught in all their books before, conc blessed sacrament of the altar : not only to be very bread still (as Luther doth), l these other beasts do) saith it is nothing after the same, Sir Thomas More saith dregs hath he drunken of Wickliff, Ec Tindal, and Zuinglius,\* and so also hath he argueth here beside ; which four, w of folk they are, is meetly well perceived ; and God hath, in part, with his open ven clared."

Luther is not the prick that I run a Scripture of God. I do neither affirm nc thing, because Luther so said ; but because tures of God do so conclude and determin not Luther for such an author, that I thi not err, but I think verily that he both n doth err in certain points, although not concern salvation and damnation ; for in the be God) all those, whom ye call heretics, right well. And likewise, I do not allow because Wickliff, Eccolampadius, Tindal, glius so say, but because I see them in more purely expound the Scripture, and th cess of the text doth more favour their sen

And where you say, that I affirm it

bread still, as Luther doth, the same I say again, not because Luther so saith, but because I can prove my words true by Scripture, reason, nature, and doctors. Paul calleth it bread, saying, "The bread which we break, is it not the fellowship of the body of Christ? For we, though we be many, are yet one body and one bread, as many as are partakers of one bread." And again he saith; "As often as ye eat of this bread, or drink of this cup, you shall shew the Lord's death until he come." Also Luke called it bread in the Acts, saying; "They continued in the fellowship of the Apostles, and in breaking of bread, and in prayer." Also Christ called the cup, the fruit of the vine, saying; "I shall not henceforth drink of the fruit of the vine, until I drink it new in the kingdom of my Father." Furthermore, nature doth teach you, that both the bread and wine continue in their nature. For the bread mouldeth if it be kept long, yea, and worms breed in it, and the poor mouse will run away with it, and desire no other meat to her dinner, which are arguments evident enough, that there remaineth bread. Also, the wine, if it were reserved, would wax sour, as they confess themselves, and therefore they housel the lay people but with one kind only, because the wine cannot continue, nor be reserved, to have ready at hand, when need were. And surely as, if there remained no bread, it could not mould, nor wax full of worms: even so, if there remained no wine, it could not wax sour, and therefore it is but false doctrine, that our prelates so long have published. Finally, that there remaineth bread, might be proved by the authority of many doctors, which call it bread and wine, as Christ and his Apostles did. And though some sophisters would wrest their sayings, and expound them after their fantasy, yet shall I allege them one doctor (which was also Pope of

Rome), that maketh so plain with us, that they shall be compelled with shame to hold their tongues. For Pope Gelasius writeth on this manner: "Surely the sacraments of the body and blood of Christ are a godly thing, and therefore through them are we made partakers of the godly nature. And yet doth it not cease to be the substance, or nature of bread and wine, but they continue in the property of their own nature, and surely the image and similitude of the body and blood of Christ are celebrated in the act of the mysteries." This I am sure was the old doctrine, which they cannot avoid. And therefore, with the Scripture, nature, and fathers, I will conclude that there remaineth the substance and nature of bread and wine.

And where ye say, that we affirm it to be nothing else, I dare say, that ye untruly report on us all. And hereafter I will shew you what more than bread. And where ye say, that it is meetly well known, what manner of folk they are, and that God hath in part with his open vengeance declared: I answer, that Master Wickliff was noted while he was living, to be a man not only of most famous doctrine, but also of a very sincere life and conversation. Nevertheless, to declare your malicious minds and vengeable hearts (as men say), fifteen years after he was buried, you took him up and burnt him, which fact declared your fury, although he felt no fire: but blessed be God, which hath given such tyrants no further power, but over this corruptible body. For the soul ye cannot bind nor burn, but God may bless, where you curse, and curse, where you bless.

And as for Æcolampadius, whom you also call Huskin, his most adversaries have ever commended his conversation, and godly life, which when God had appointed his time, gave place unto nature (as every man must) and died of a canker.

And Tindal, I trust, lived well content with such a poor Apostle's life, as God gave his Son Christ, and his faithful minister in this world ; which is not sure of so many mites, as ye be yearly of pounds, although I am sure that for his learning and judgment in Scripture, he were more worthy to be promoted, than all the bishops in England. I received a letter from him, which was written since Christmas, wherein among other matters he writeth thus : " I call God to record, against the day we shall appear before our Lord Jesus, to give a reckoning of our doings, that I never altered one syllable of God's word against my conscience, nor would do this day, if all that is in earth, whether it be honour, pleasure, or riches might be given me. Moreover, I take God to record to my consciencce, that I desire of God to myself in this world, no more than that, without which I cannot keep his laws, &c." Judge, Christian reader, whether these words be not spoken of a faithful, clear, innocent heart. And as for his behaviour, it is such, that I am sure no man can reprove him of any sin ; howbeit, no man is innocent before God, which beholdeth the heart.

Finally, Zuinglius was a man of such learning and gravity (beside eloquence) that I think, no man in Christendom might have compared with him, notwithstanding he was slain in battle in defending his country and commonwealth, against the assault of wicked enemies, which cause was most righteous. And if his *Mastership* meant, that that was the vengeance of God, and declared him to be an evil person, because he was slain : I may say, nay, and shew example of the contrary, for sometimes God giveth the victory against them that have most righteous cause, as it is evident in the book of Judges, where all the children of Israel were gathered together, to punish the shameful sin of the tribe of Ben-

jamin, which were in number but 25,000. Israelites were 400,000 fighting men, into Shiloh, and asked of God, who should be captain against Benjamin. And they slew 25,000 of the other Israelites the next day. Then fled the children of Israel unto Shiloh, and made great lamentation even until night: and asked him counsel, "Shall we go any more to fight against Benjamin, our brethren, or not? God answered them, Yes, go up and fight against them: the next day they fought again, and there was slain again of the Israelites 25,000 men. Then came they back again unto God, and sat down and wept before him, and fasted that day until even, and asked whether they should any more fight against their brethren or not. God said unto them, Tomorrow I will deliver them into your hands. The next day was the tribe of Benjamin destroyed, saving 600 men which hid themselves in the wilderness." Here it is evident that the children of Israel lost the victory twice, and notwithstanding had a just cause, and fought in obedience to God's commandment. Besides that, Judas was slain in a righteous cause, as it is manifest in the first book of the Maccabees. And there can be no evident argument of the vengeance that he was slain in battle in a righteous cause: therefore me thinketh that this man is too so bluntly to enter into God's judgment sentence in that matter, before he be counsel.



*A Comparison between the Paschal Lamb and the Sacrament.—From the same Work, at Page 157.*

Now, we shall shortly express the pith of our matter, and borrow the figure of the paschal lamb, which is in all points so like ; that the offering of the paschal lamb did signify the offering of Christ's body, is plain by Paul which saith, " Christ our paschal lamb is offered up for us." When the children of Israel were very sad and heavy for their sore oppression under the power of Pharaoh (for the more miracles were shewed, the worse were they handled) God sent unto them by Moses, that every household should kill a lamb, to be a sacrifice unto God, and that they should eat him, with their staves in their hands, their loins girded and shoes on their feet, even as men that were going on a hasty journey. This lamb must they eat hastily and make a merry maundy. Now, because they should not say, that they could not be merry, for their oppression, and what could the lamb help them ; he added glad tidings unto it and said, " This is the passing by of the Lord, which this night shall pass by you, and slay all the first begotten, within the land of Egypt, and shall deliver you out of your bondage, and bring you into the land that he hath promised unto your fathers." Mark the process and conveyance of this matter ; for even likewise it is in our sacrament. The Apostles were sad and heavy, partly considering the bondage of sin wherewith they were oppressed, and partly because he told them that he must depart from them, in whom they did put all their hope of their deliverance. While they were in this heaviness, Christ thought to comfort them, and to give them the seal of their deliverance, and took in his hand bread, blessed and " brake it, and gave it to his dis-

cipling, saying: This is my body which shall be given for you." For this night shall the power of Pharaoh, that devil, be destroyed, and to-morrow shall you be delivered from Egypt, the place of sin, and shall take your journey towards the heavenly mansion, which is prepared of God for all that love him. Now, compare them together.

1. The paschal lamb was instituted and eaten the night before the children of Israel were indeed delivered from Egypt. Likewise, was the sacrament instituted and eaten the night before we were delivered from our sins.

2. The paschal lamb was a very lamb indeed. And so is the sacrament very bread indeed.

3. The paschal lamb was called the passing by of the Lord, which destroyed the power of Pharaoh and delivered them. The sacrament is called the body of the Lord which destroyed the power of the devil and delivered us.

4. As many as did eat the paschal lamb in faith, were very merry and gave God great thanks. For they were sure the next day to be delivered out of Egypt. As many as did eat his sacrament in faith, were merry and gave God great thanks, for they were sure the next day to be delivered from their sin.

5. They that did not eat the paschal lamb in faith, could not be merry. For they were not so sure of deliverance from the power of Pharaoh. They that did not eat this sacrament in faith, could not be merry: for they were not sure of deliverance from the power of the devil.

6. They that believed the word of the Lord, did more eat the passing by of the Lord which should deliver them, than they did the lamb. They that did believe the word of the Lord did more eat the body of the Lord, which should be given for their deliverance, than they did the bread. For that thing doth

a man most eat, that he most hath in memory and most revolveth in mind, as appeareth by Christ (John, iv. 32), "I have meat to eat that ye know not of."

7. They that believed not the next day to be delivered from Egypt, did not eat the passing by of the Lord, although they did eat the lamb. They that believed not the next day to be delivered from sin, did not eat the body of the Lord, although they eat the bread.

8. The children of Israel were but once delivered from Egypt: notwithstanding, they did every year eat the lamb, to keep that fact in perpetual remembrance. Even so, Christ bought and redeemed us but once for all, and was offered and sacrificed but once for all, though the sacrament thereof be daily broken among us, to keep that benefit in continual memory.

9. As many as did eat the paschal lamb in faith, and believed God's word, as touching their deliverance from Egypt, were as sure of their deliverance through faith, as they were sure of the lamb by eating it. As many as do eat this sacrament in faith, and believe God's word as touching their deliverance from sin, are as sure of their deliverance through faith, as they are sure of the bread by eating it.

10. As many as did eat of that paschal lamb, did magnify their God, testifying that he only was the God Almighty, and they his people sticking to him to be delivered by his power from all danger. As many, as do eat of this sacrament, do magnify their God, testifying that he only is the God Almighty, and they his people sticking by him to be delivered by his power from all danger.

11. When the Israelites were delivered from Egypt, they eat nevertheless the paschal lamb which was still called the passing by (because it was the re-

membrance of the passing by of the Lord) and heartily rejoiced, offering him sacrifice, and acknowledging with infinite thanks, that they were the fellowship of them, that had such a merciful God. Now, Christ's elect are delivered from sin, they eat nevertheless the sacrament, which is still called his body that once died for their deliverance, and heartily rejoice, offering to him the sacrifice of praise, and acknowledging with infinite thanks, that they are of the fellowship of them, that have such a merciful God.

12. The paschal lamb, after their deliverance it was yearly eaten, brought as much mirth and joy unto them, that did eat it in faith, as it did to their fathers which felt Pharaoh's fury, and were not yet delivered. For they knew right well that except God of his mercy and wonderful power had so delivered them, they should also themselves have been bond in the land of Egypt and under that wicked prince Pharaoh, of which bondage they greatly rejoiced to be rid already, and thanked God highly because they found themselves in that plenteous land, which God provided for them. The sacrament, which after our deliverance is yearly and daily eaten, bringeth as much mirth and joy unto us, that eat it in faith, as it did to the Apostles which were not yet delivered. For we know right well that except God of his mercy and through the blood of his Son, had so delivered us, we should also ourselves have been bond in Egypt, the place of sin, under that wicked prince, the devil, of which bondage we greatly rejoice to be rid already, and thank God highly because we find ourselves in the state of grace, and have received through faith the first fruits and a taste of the Spirit, which testifieth unto us that we are the children of God.

This maundy of remembrance was it, that Paul re-

ceived of the Lord and delivered to the Corinthians in the eleventh chapter. For though he borrow one property and similitude of the sacrament in the tenth chapter, that in my mind maketh neither with us nor against us; albeit, some think that it maketh whole for the exposition of Christ's words, "This is my body." But in my mind they are deceived: for the occasion that Paul spake of it in the tenth chapter was this. The Corinthians had knowledge that all meats were indifferent, and whether it were offered to an idol or not, that the meat was not the worse, and they might lawfully eat of it, whether it were sold them in the shambles, or set before them when they dined and supped in an unfaithful man's house; asking no questions except some man did tell them that it was offered to an idol, and then they should not eat of it, for offending his conscience, that so told them (albeit, they were else free and the thing indifferent); this knowledge, because it was not annexed with charity, was the occasion of great offending. For by reason thereof they sat down among the Gentiles at their feasts, where they eat in the honour of their idols, and so did not only wound the conscience of their weak brethren, but also committed idolatry indeed: and therefore St. Paul said unto them: "My dear beloved, flee from worshipping of idols, I speak unto them which have discretion. Judge ye what I say. Is not the cup of blessing which we bless, the fellowship of the blood of Christ? Is not the bread which we break the fellowship of the body of Christ? For we, though we be many, are yet one bread and one body, in as much as we are partakers of one bread." Christ did call himself bread, and the bread his body: and here Paul calleth us bread, and the bread our body. Now, may you not take Paul that he in this place should directly expound Christ's mind. And, that the very exposition

of Christ's words, when he said, "This is my body," should be that it was the fellowship of his body (as some say, which seeking the key in this place of Paul, lock themselves so fast in, that they can find no way out): for Christ spake those words of his own body, which should be given for us, but the fellowship of Christ's body (or congregation) was not given for us. And so he meant not, as Paul here saith, but meant his own body. For as Paul calleth the bread, our body, for a certain property, even so doth Christ call it, his body, for certain other properties. In that the bread was broken, it was Christ's own body, signifying that as that bread was broken, so should his body be broken for us. In that it was distributed unto his disciples, it was his own body, signifying that as verily as the bread was distributed unto them, so, verily should the death of his body and fruit of his passion be distributed to all faithful folk. In that, the bread strengtheneth our bodies, it is his own body, signifying, that as our bodies are strengthened and comforted by bread, so are our souls by the faith in his body-breaking: and likewise of the wine, in that it was so distributed, and so comforteth us and maketh us merry. Furthermore, the bread and wine have another property, for the which it is called our body. For in that the bread is made one bread of many grains or corns, it is our body, signifying, that though we be many, are made one bread; that is to say, one body: and in that the wine is made one wine of many grapes, it is our body, signifying that though we are many, yet in Christ and through Christ we are made one body and members to each other. But in this thing Christ and Paul agree. For as Paul calleth the bread, our body, and us, the bread, because of this property, that it is made one of many; even so, doth Christ call it, his body, because of the properties before rehearsed.

Furthermore, in this they agree, that as Paul's words must be taken spiritually (for I think there is no man so mad, as to judge that the bread is our body indeed, although in that property it representeth our body) : even so, must Christ's words be understood spiritually, that in those properties it representeth his very body. Now when we come together to receive this bread, then by the receiving of it in the congregation we do openly testify, that we all (which receive it) are one body, professing one God, one faith, and one baptism, and that the body of Christ was broken and his blood shed for the remission of our sins. Now, since we so do, we may not company nor sit in the congregation or fellowship of them that offer unto idols and eat before them. For as Paul saith ; " Ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord, and the cup of the devils : ye cannot be partakers of the table of the Lord and of the table of the devils." I would not that you should have fellowship with devils. The heathen which offered unto idols were the fellowship of devils, not because they eat the devil's body or drank the devil's blood, but because they believed and put their confidence in the idol or devil as in their God, and all, that were of that faith, had their ceremonies, and gave hearty thanks to their god with that feast which they kept. They came to one place and brought their meat before the idol and offered it : and with their offering gave unto the devil godly honour. And then they sat down and eat the offering together, giving praise and thanks unto their god, and were one body and one fellowship of the devil, which they testify by eating of that offering before that idol. Now, doth St. Paul reprehend the Corinthians for bearing the Gentiles company in eating before the idol. For they know that the meat was like other meat ; and therefore thought themselves free to eat it or leave it. But they perceived not,

that that congregation was the fellowship of devils which were there gathered, not for the meat's sake, but for to thank and praise the idol their god in whom they had their confidence. And all that there assembled and did there eat, did openly testify, that they all were one body, professing one faith in their god, that idol; so Paul rebuked them, for because that by their eating (in that place and fellowship) they testified openly, that they were of the devil's body, and rejoiced in the idol their god, in whom they had faith and confidence. And therefore saith Paul, that they cannot both drink the cup of the Lord, testifying him to be their God in whom only they have trust and affiance, and the cup of the devil testifying the idol to be their god and refuge.

Here you may note, that the meat and the eating of it in this place, and fellowship, is more than the common meat and eating in other places. For else they might lawfully have drunken the devil's cup with them the one day, and the cup of the Lord the next day with his disciples. What was it more? Verily, it was meat, which by the eating of it in that place and fellowship, did testify openly unto all men, that he was their god, whose cup they drank, and before whom they eat in that fellowship: and so in their eating they praised and honoured the idol. And therefore, they that had their trust in the living God and in the blood of his Son Christ, might not eat with them. And likewise, it is in the sacrament, the bread and the eating of it in the place and fellowship where it is received, is more than common bread. What is it more? Verily, it is bread which, by the eating of it in that place and fellowship, doth testify openly unto all men, that he is our very God, whose cup we drink and before whom we eat in that fellowship, and that we put all our affiance in him and in the blood of his Son Christ Jesus, giving God all honour and infi-



nite thanks for his great love wherewith he loved us, and as it is testified, in the blood of his Son; which was shed for our sins. So that in this place and fellowship may no man eat nor drink with us, but he that is of our faith, and acknowledgeth the same God that we do.

As by example, if a man were well beloved among his neighbours (albeit he have some enemies), and were long absent from his friends in a strange country: when he were come home, his neighbours that loved him would greatly rejoice and peradventure would buy a capon, or another piece of meat, to give him his welcome home, and get them to some honest man's house, or to a tavern, and make good cheer together, to testify openly that he is welcome home, and that they all which are at the banquet rejoice at his coming home. Now, I say, that this banquet is more than another meal, for at this banquet his enemies may be loth to come, because they cannot rejoice at his coming home, and therefore cannot make good cheer among them, testifying that he is welcome home; but rather abhor the meat and drink that is there eaten, because their heart doth not favour the person, for whose sake it is prepared. Notwithstanding, if a capon's leg were reserved for one of his enemies, and afterward given him, when the banquet were done, he might lawfully eat it. For then it were but bare meat, such as he eateth at home. And likewise, the enemies of Christ which believe not that they have remission of sins through his blood-shedding, cannot rejoice in his body-breaking; and therefore cannot make good cheer among them; but if any be reserved after the maundy, he may lawfully eat it, for it is but bread. And his lovers, that are there present, do rather come thither to give him his welcome home, than for the meat, and they more eat his welcome home, than the meat. But if any of his enemies fortune to be there, they

eat only the meat, and not his welcome home; for they rejoyce not at his coming home. Likewise, the faithful, that are there present, do rather come thither to rejoyce in the faith of his body-breaking, than in breaking or eating of the bread and meat. But if any of the unfaithful fortune to be there, they eat only the bread, and not his body-breaking; for they rejoyce not at his body-breaking. Here, peradventure, some will suppose that I were contrary to myself. For before I said, that it was more than meat that was eaten at the Gentiles' feast, and more than meat that was eaten at my neighbour's welcome home, and more than bread that is eaten at the receiving of the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ. And now I say, that if a man's enemy be there, he eateth only the meat and not the welcome home. And likewise, the unfaithful eateth only bread, and not the body and blood of Christ. How may these words stand together? I answer, that they eat but only bread or meat that profiteth them, but indeed they eat more to their hindrance, and even to their own damnation. For they that did eat in the fellowship of the Gentiles, did but only eat the meat to their profit; but in eating their meat their fact did openly testify that they honoured the idol for their god (although their heart were otherwise), wherein they committed idolatry. And besides that, they wounded the consciences of their weak brethren and so sinned against God. Besides that, he that envieth his neighbour and cometh to that banquet, eateth but only the meat that profiteth him: notwithstanding in his own heart, he eateth the rancour and malice of his mind, to his great grievance, when he seeth them so rejoyce. And of his own companions, which are also this man's enemies, he doth purchase himself hatred, because with his fact he testifieth that he loveth him, although his heart be otherwise, and of

God shall be condemned. For "he that hateth his brother, is a murderer." Furthermore, he that is unfaithful and cometh to the maundy, eateth but only the bread that profiteth him, notwithstanding he eateth besides that his own damnation, because he believeth not that the body of our Saviour, which the sacrament representeth, is broken for our sins, and his blood shed to wash them away. This I am compelled to do, to stop the chattering mouths of sophisters, albeit, to them that be sober, it had been enough to have said, they eat only bread, and not the body broken, &c. For they right well understand it by the contrary antithesis, and know that I mean not by that word, *only* that he should eat the bread and nothing else but only bread: but that I meant by this word *only*, that he should eat the bread without the body. And so likewise in other examples. Thus have we sufficiently declared Paul's mind in the xth chapter.

In the xith chapter, Paul maketh much mention of the maundy, and describeth it to the uttermost: "First, he saith when ye come together in one place, a man cannot eat the Lord's supper. For every man beginneth afore to eat his own supper, and one is hungry and another is drunken. Have ye not houses to eat and drink in? or else despise ye the congregation of God, and shame them that have not; what shall I say unto you? shall I praise you? in this I praise you not." Paul did instruct according to Christ's mind, that the Corinthians should come together to eat the Lord's supper. Which lieth not so much in the carnal eating, as in the spiritual: and is greatly desired to be eaten, not by the hunger of the body, but by the hunger of the faithful heart, which is greatly to publish the praise of the Lord and give him hearty thanks, and move others to the same; that of many, praise might be

given unto our most merciful Father; which he shewed us in the blood of his dear Son, Christ Jesus; wherewith we are freed from our sins, and surely sealed unto life. With such hunger did Christ eat the paschal lamb, saying to his disciples: "I have desired to eat this Easter lamb with you before I suffer." Christ's inward desire was not satisfied with his disciples, but he had a stronger desire: both to praise his Father with their spiritual deliverance out of the land of bondage, especially to alter the paschal lamb and carnal deliverance, into the maundy or thanksgiving for our spiritual deliverance from the bondage of sin. Insomuch, that when Christ saw that it was his Father's will and pleasure that he should suffer for our sins (wherein his honor and praise should be published), then we are sure unto him, to declare unto his disciples the great benefit, unto his Father's praise, and so did institute, that we should come and break the bread in the remembrance of the body-breaking and blood-shedding: and that we might do it together rejoicing with each other at his benefits.

Now, were the Corinthians fallen from grace, and came not together to the intent that their praise should be published by them in the congregation, but came to feed themselves to make carnal cheer. Insomuch, that they would have meat and drink enough, and abundance, that they would be drunk (not at their own supper and not the Lord's Supper), and did eat only the bread and meat of the body-breaking, as I have before said. The poor which had not (that is to say, meat to eat) were ashamed and hun-

could not rejoice and praise the Lord; by the reason that the delicate fare of the rich was an occasion for the poor to lament their poverty; and thus the rich did neither praise God themselves, nor suffered the poor to do it, but were an occasion to hinder them.

They should have brought their meat and drink and have divided it with their poor brethren, that they might have been merry together, and so to have given them occasion to be merry, and rejoice in the Lord with thanksgiving. But they had neither lust to praise God, nor to comfort their neighbour. Their faith was feeble and their charity cold, and had no regard, but to fill their body and feed their flesh; and so despised the poor congregation of God, whom they should have honoured for the spirit that was in them, and favour that God had shewed indifferently unto them in the blood of his Son Christ. When Paul perceived that they were thus fleshly minded and had no mind unto that spiritual maundy which chiefly should there be advertised, he reproveth them sore, rehearsing the words of Christ. "That which I gave unto you I received of the Lord. For the Lord Jesus the same night in the which he was betrayed, took bread, and thanked, and brake it and said, Take ye and eat ye, this is my body which is broken for you, this do ye in the remembrance of me. After the same manner he took the cup when supper was done, saying, This cup is the new testament in my blood, this do ye as oft as ye drink it in the remembrance of me. For as oft as ye shall eat this bread and drink of this cup, ye shall shew the Lord's death till he come." As though he should say, Ye Corinthians are much to blame which at this supper seek the seed of your flesh. For it was instituted of Christ, not for the intent to nourish the belly, but to strengthen the heart and soul in God. And by this you may know that

Christ so meant. For he calleth it his body, which is given for you; so that the name itself might testify unto you, that in this supper you should more eat his body which is given for you (by digesting that into the bowels of your soul) than the bread, which by the breaking, and the distributing of it, doth represent his body-breaking, and the distributing thereof unto all that are faithful. And that he so meaneth, is evident by the words following, which say, "this do in the remembrance of me:" and likewise of the cup. And finally, concluding of both, Paul saith, "As often as ye shall eat this bread and drink of this cup (in this place and fellowship), ye shall shew the Lord's death until he come," praising the Lord for the death of his Son, and exhorting others to do the same, rejoicing in him with infinite thanks. And therefore ye are to blame, which seek only to feed the belly with that thing which was only instituted to feed the soul. And thereupon it followeth.

Wherefore, whosoever doth eat of this bread and drink of this cup unworthily, is guilty of the body and blood of the Lord. He eateth this bread unworthily, which regardeth not the purpose for the which Christ did institute it, which cometh not to it with spiritual hunger, to eat through faith his very body, which the bread representeth by the breaking and distributing of it: which cometh not with a merry heart, giving God hearty thanks for their deliverance from sin: which do not much more eat in their heart the death of his body, than they do the bread with their mouth. Now, since the Corinthians did only seek their belly and flesh, and forgot God's honour and praise (for which it was instituted, that thanks should be given by the remembrance of his body-breaking for us), they eat it to God's dishonour and to their neighbours' hindrance, and to

their own condemnation, and so for lack of faith were guilty of Christ's body, which (by faith) they should there chiefly have eaten to their soul's health, And therefore it followeth.

"Let a man therefore examine himself, and so let him eat of the bread, and drink of the cup." This proving or examining of a man's self is first to think with himself, with what lust and desire he cometh unto the maundy, and will eat that bread; whether he be sure that he is the child of God and in the faith of Christ: and whether his conscience do bear him witness that Christ's body was broken for him: and whether the lust that he hath to praise God and thank him with a faithful heart in the midst of the brethren, do drive him thitherward. Or else, whether he do it for the meat's sake or to keep the custom: for then were it better that he were away. For he that eateth or drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own damnation, because he maketh no difference of the Lord's body. That is, as it is said before, he that regardeth not the purpose for which it was instituted, and putteth no difference between his eating and other eating (for other eating doth only serve the belly), but this eating was instituted and ordained, to serve the soul and inward man. And therefore, he that abuseth it to the flesh, eateth and drinketh his own damnation. And he cometh unworthily to the maundy, where the sacrament of Christ's body is eaten; yea, where the body of the Lord is eaten, not carnally with the teeth and belly, but spiritually with the heart and faith. Upon this followeth the text, that M. More allegeth and wresteth for this purpose.

"For this cause many are weak and sick among you, and many sleep. If we had truly judged ourselves, we should not have been judged; when we are judged of the Lord, we are chastened because

we should not be damned with the world fore, my brethren, when ye come together tarry one for another. If a man hungers at home, that ye come not together to demnation."

"For this cause, (that is) for lack of examining of ourselves (as is before touched) are weak and sick in the faith, and many have lost their faith in Christ's blood for remembrance of his body-breaking and drinking: yea, and not that only, but many and sick, even stricken with bodily diseases, eating the sacrament of his body, eating with their teeth, and not his body with their mind, and peradventure some slain for stroke of God, which if they had truly examined themselves for what intent they thither and why it was instituted, should have been so judged and chastened of the Lord. The Lord doth chasten to bring us unto himself and to mortify our rebellious members, that we may remember him. Here you may shortly perceive the mind of Paul,



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### WORKS OF FRITH.

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## PATRICK'S PLACES.

*A Treatise on the Law and the Gospel.*

*Written in Latin by PATRICK HAMILTON, the first Scottish Reformer, translated and published, with a prefatory Letter by JOHN FRITH; to which are added The Annotations, as originally published in Fox's Martyrology.*

PATRICK Hamilton, a Scottish man born, of an high and noble stock, and of the king's blood, young, and of flourishing age, and excellent towardness, of twenty-three years, called abbot of Ferm, first coming out of his country with three companions, to seek godly learning, went to the university of Marpurg, in Germany, which university was then newly erected by Philip, landgrave of Hesse, where he, using conference and familiarity with learned men, namely, with Franciscus Lambertus, so profited in knowledge, and mature judgment in matters of religion, that he, through the incitation of the said Lambertus, was the first in all that university of Marpurg, which publicly did set up conclusions, there to be disputed of, concerning faith and works: arguing also no less learnedly than fervently, upon the same. What these propositions and conclusions were, partly in his treatise, hereafter following, called "*Patrick's Places*," may appear.

Thus the ingenious wit of this learned Patrick, increased daily more and more in knowledge, and inflamed with godliness, at length began to revolve with himself touching his return into his country, being desirous to impart unto his countrymen some fruit, of the understanding which he had received abroad. Whereupon, persisting in his godly pur-

pose, he took one of the three whom he brought out of Scotland, and so returned home without any longer delay. Where, he not sustaining the miserable ignorance and blindness of that people, after he had valiantly taught and preached the truth, and confuted their abuses, was first accused of heresy, and afterwards constantly and stoutly sustaining the quarrel of God's Gospel, against the high priest and archbishop of St. Andrews, named James Beaton, was cited to appear before him, and his college of priests, the first day of March, A. D. 1527. But he, being not only forward in knowledge, but also ardent in spirit, not tarrying for the hour appointed, prevented the time, and came very early in the morning, before he was looked for, and there mightily disputing against them, when he could not by the Scriptures be convicted, by force was oppressed: and so, the sentence of condemnation being given against him, the same day after dinner, in all the hot haste, he was had away to the fire, and there burned: the king being yet but a child, which thing made the bishops more bold. And thus was this noble Hamilton, the blessed servant of God, without all just cause, made away by cruel adversaries, yet not without great fruit to the Church of Christ, for the grave testimony of his blood, left the verity and truth of God, more fixed and confirmed in the hearts of many, than ever could after be plucked away: insomuch that divers afterward, standing in his quarrel, sustained also the like martyrdom.

The following are the articles for which he suffered death:

1. Man has no free will.
2. A man is only justified by faith in Christ.
3. A man, so long as he liveth, is not without sin.
4. He is not worthy to be called a Christian, who believeth not, that he is in grace.

5. A good man doth good works : good not make a good man.

6. An evil man bringeth forth evil works being faithfully repented of, do no evil man.

7. Faith, Hope, and Charity, are so together, that one of them cannot be without other in one man, in this life.

Here is moreover to be observed, as a testimony of memory, that in the year of our Lord in the which year this present history was in Scotland, there were certain faithful men then alive, who being present at the same time Master Patrick Hamilton was in the fire, to cite and appeal the black friar called that accused him, to appear before the high general judge of all men; to answer to the of his death, and whether his accusation was not, between that and a certain day of month, which be there named. Moreover same witness it is testified, that the said immediately before the said day came, with remorse of conscience, that he had persecuted innocent. By the example whereof diverse people at the same time, much moved, believed the doctrine of the aforesaid Master Hamilton, to be good and just.

Hereunto, I thought good to adjoin godly and profitable treatise of the said Master Hamilton, written first by him in Latin, and translated by John Frith into English, named "*Patrick's Places*," not unprofitable mind, to be seen and read of all men, for the and comfortable doctrine contained in the not only by the treatise itself may appear by the preface of the said John Frith

before, which also I thought not inconvenient to insert with the same, as here followeth.

John Frith unto the Christian Reader.

Blessed be God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which in these last days and perilous times, hath stirred up in all countries, witnesses unto his Son, to testify the truth unto the unfaithful, to save, at the least, some from the snares of anti-christ, which lead to perdition, as ye may here perceive by that excellent and well learned young man, Patrick Hamilton, born in Scotland, of a noble progeny: who, to testify the truth, sought all means, and took upon him priesthood (even as Paul circumcised Timothy, to win the weak Jews), that he might be admitted to preach the pure word of God. Notwithstanding, as soon as the chamberlain and other bishops of Scotland, had perceived, that the light began to shine, which disclosed their falsehood, that they conveyed in darkness; they laid hands on him, and because he would not deny his Saviour Christ, at their instance, they burnt him to ashes. Nevertheless, God, of his bounteous mercy (to publish to the whole world, what a man these monsters have murdered), hath reserved a little treatise, made by this Patrick, which, if ye list, ye may call "*Patrick's Places*:" for it treateth exactly of certain common places, which known, ye have the pith of all divinity. This treatise have I turned into the English tongue, to the profit of my nation: to whom, I beseech God, to give light, that they may espy the deceitful paths of perdition, and return to the right way which leadeth to life everlasting. Amen.

*The Doctrine of the Law.*

The law is a doctrine that biddeth good, and forbiddeth evil, as the commandments do specify, here following:

The ten Commandments of God

1. Thou shalt worship but one God.
2. Thou shalt make thee no image to
3. Thou shalt not swear by his name i
4. Hold the sabbath day holy.
5. Honour thy father and thy mother.
6. Thou shalt not kill.
7. Thou shalt not commit adultery.
8. Thou shalt not steal.
9. Thou shalt not bear false witness.
10. Thou shalt not desire ought that t  
thy neighbour.

All these commandments are briefly c  
these two, here under ensuing.

“ Love thy Lord God, with all thine  
all thy soul, and with all thy mind.  
first, and great commandment. The se  
unto this, that is, Love thy neighbour  
On these two commandments hang all  
the prophets.” (Mat. xxii. 39, 40.)

*Certain general Propositions proved by th*

*The first Proposition.*

He that loveth God, loveth his neigh

This proposition is proved, 1 John,  
any man say, I love God, and yet hateth  
he is a liar. He that loveth not his bro  
he hath seen, how can he love God, wh  
not seen ?”

*The second Proposition.*

He that loveth his neighbour as him  
all the commandments of God.

This proposition is proved : “ Whatso  
that men should do to you, even so do t  
this is the law and the prophets.” (Mat.

He that loveth his neighbour, fulfilleth the law. "Thou shalt not commit adultery: Thou shalt not kill: Thou shalt not steal: Thou shalt not bear false witness: Thou shalt not desire, &c. And if there be any other commandments, all are comprehended in this saying; Love thy neighbour as thyself." (Rom. xiii. 8, 9.)

"All the law is fulfilled in one word, that is, Love thy neighbour as thyself." (Gal. v. 14.)

*Argument.*

"He that loveth his neighbour, keepeth all the commandments of God." (Rom. xiii. 8, 9.)

"He that loveth God, loveth his neighbour." (1 John, iv. 20.)

Therefore, he that loveth God, keepeth all the commandments of God.

*The third Proposition.*

He that hath faith, loveth God.

"My Father loveth you, because you love me, and believe that I came of God." (John, xvi. 27.)

*Argument.*

He that keepeth the commandments of God, hath the love of God.

He that hath faith, keepeth the commandments of God.

Therefore, he that hath faith, loveth God.

*The fourth Proposition.*

He that keepeth one commandment of God, keepeth them all.

This proposition is confirmed, Heb. xi. 6. "It is impossible for a man without faith to please God," that is, to keep any one of God's commandments, as he should do. Then, whosoever keepeth any one commandment, hath faith.

*Argument.*

He that hath faith, keepeth all the commandments of God.

He that keepeth any one commandment of God, hath faith.

Therefore, he that keepeth one commandment, keepeth them all.

*The fifth Proposition.*

He that keepeth not all the commandments of God, keepeth not one of them.

*Argument.*

He that keepeth one commandment of God, keepeth all.

Therefore, he that keepeth not all the commandments of God, keepeth not one of them.

*The sixth Proposition.*

It is not in our power to keep any one of the commandments of God.

*Argument.*

It is impossible to keep any of the commandments of God, without grace.

It is not in our power to have grace.

Therefore, it is not in our power to keep any of the commandments of God.

And even so, may you reason concerning the Holy Ghost and faith, for so much as neither without them we are able to keep any of the commandments of God, neither yet are they in our power to have. "It is not of him that willeth, &c." (Rom. ix. 16.)

*The seventh Proposition.*

The law was given us to shew our sin.

"By the law cometh the knowledge of sin," (Rom. iii. 20.) "I knew not what sin meant, but through the law. For I had not known what lust



had meant, except the law had said : thou shalt not lust without the law, sin was dead;" that is, it moved me not, neither wist I that it was sin, which notwithstanding was sin, and forbidden by the law. (Rom. vii. 7, 8.)

*The eighth Proposition.*

The law biddeth us to do that thing, which is impossible for us.

*Argument.*

The keeping of the commandments is to us impossible.

The law commandeth to us the keeping of the commandments.

Therefore, the law commandeth unto us, that is impossible.

*Objection.*

But thou wilt say, wherefore doth God bid us do, that is impossible for us?

*Answer.*

I answer, To make thee know, that thou art but evil, and that there is no remedy to save thee, in thine own hand : and that thou mayst seek remedy at some other, for the law doth nothing else but command thee.

*The Doctrine of the Gospel.*

The Gospel is as much as to say, in our tongue, good tidings : like as these are, here under following, and such other.

Christ is the Saviour of the world. (Luke, ii. 11.)

Christ is the Saviour. (John, iv. 42.)

Christ died for us. (Rom. v. 8.)

Christ died for our sins. (1 Cor. xv. 3.)

Christ bought us with his blood. (1 Pet. i. 18, 19.)

Christ washed us with his blood. (Rev. i. 5.)

Christ offered himself for us. (Heb. vii. 27.)

Christ bare our sins on his back. (Is. liii  
Christ came into this world to save sinne.  
i. 15.)

Christ came into this world to take away  
(1 John, iii. 5.)

Christ was the price that was given for  
sins. (1 Tim. ii. 6.)

Christ was made debtor for us. (2 Cor. v.

Christ hath paid our debt, for he die  
(Mat. xx. 28.)

Christ made satisfaction for us and  
(1 John, ii. 2.)

Christ is our righteousness.

Christ is our sanctification. } (1 Cor. i.

Christ is our redemption.

Christ is our peace. (Eph. ii. 14.)

Christ hath pacified the Father of heave  
(Rom. v. 1. Eph. ii. 16.)

Christ is ours and all his. (1 Cor. iii. 21,

Christ hath delivered us from the law,  
devil, and from hell. (Col. i. 13.)

The Father of heaven hath forgiven us  
for Christ's sake. (Eph. iv. 32.)

Or any such other, like to the same, v  
clareth unto us the mercy of God.

*The Nature and Office of the Law, and of the*

The law sheweth us our sin. (Rom. iii. 20)

The Gospel sheweth us a remedy for it.  
i. 29.)

The law sheweth us our condemnation. (1  
9, 10.)

The Gospel sheweth us our redemption.  
-14.)

The law is the word of wrath. (Rom. iv. 15)

The Gospel is the word of grace. (Acts, 13)

The law is the word of despair. (Dent. xx. 11)

The Gospel is the word of comfort. (Luke, ii. 14.)  
The law is the word of unrest (*disquietude*).  
(Rom. vii. 13.)  
The Gospel is the word of peace. (Eph. ii. 17.)

*A Disputation between the Law and the Gospel, where  
is shewed the Difference or Contrariety between them  
both.*

The law saith, Pay thy debt.  
The Gospel saith, Christ hath paid it.  
The law saith, Thou art a sinner, despair, and  
thou shalt be damned.  
The Gospel saith, Thy sins are forgiven thee, be  
of good comfort, thou shalt be saved.  
The law saith, Make amends for thy sins.  
The Gospel saith, Christ hath made it for thee.  
The law saith, The Father of heaven is angry with  
thee.  
The Gospel saith, Christ hath pacified him with  
his blood.  
The law saith, Where is thy righteousness, good-  
ness, and satisfaction?  
The Gospel saith, Christ is thy righteousness, thy  
goodness, and satisfaction.  
The law saith, Thou art bound and obliged to me,  
to the devil, and to hell.  
The Gospel saith, Christ hath delivered thee from  
them all.

### *The Doctrine of Faith.*

Faith is to believe God, like as Abraham believed  
God, and it was imputed unto him for righteous-  
ness.

To believe God, is to believe his word, and to re-  
count it true that he saith.

He that believeth not God's word, believeth not  
God himself.

He that believeth not God's word, he counteth him false and a liar, and believeth not that he may and will fulfil his word, and so he denieth both the might of God, and God himself.

*The ninth Proposition.*

Faith is the gift of God.

*Argument.*

Every good thing is the gift of God.

Faith is good.

Therefore, faith is the gift of God.

*The tenth Proposition.*

Faith is not in our power.

*Argument.*

The gift of God is not in our power.

Faith is the gift of God.

Therefore, faith is not in our power.

*The eleventh Proposition.*

He that lacketh faith cannot please God.

"Without faith, it is impossible to please God."  
(Rom. xiv.) All that cometh not of faith, is sin, for without faith can no man please God. (Heb. xi. 6.)

*Induction.*

He that lacketh faith, trusteth not God: he that trusteth not God, trusteth not his word: he that trusteth not his word, holdeth him false and a liar: he that holdeth him false and a liar, believeth not that he may do that he promiseth, and so denieth he, that he is God.

Therefore, it followeth, he that lacketh faith, cannot please God.

If it were possible for any man to do all the good deeds that ever were done, either of men or angels: yet being in this case, it is impossible for him to please God.

*The twelfth Proposition.*

All that is done in faith, pleaseth God.

"Right is the word of God, and all his works in faith." (Psal. xxxiv. 4.)

"Lord, thine eyes look to faith:" that is as much to say, as, Lord, thou delightest in faith. (Jer. v. 3.)

*The thirteenth Proposition.*

He that hath faith, is just and good.

*Argument.*

He that is a good tree, bringing forth good fruit, is just and good.

He that hath faith, is a good tree, bringing forth good fruit.

Therefore, he that hath faith, is just and good.

*The fourteenth Proposition.*

He that hath faith, and believeth God, cannot displease him.

*Induction.*

He that hath faith, believeth God: he that believeth God, believeth his word: he that believeth his word, wotteth well that he is true and faithful, and may not lie, knowing that he both may and will fulfil his word:

Therefore, he that hath faith, cannot displease God: neither can any man do a greater honour to God, than to count him true.

*Objection.*

Thou wilt then say, that theft, murder, adultery, and all vices, please God.

*Answer.*

Nay verily, for they cannot be done in faith: "for a good tree beareth good fruit." (Mat. vii. 17.)

*The fifteenth Proposition.*

Faith is a certainty or assuredness.

“Faith is a sure confidence of things which are hoped for, and certainty of things which are not seen.” (Heb. xi. 1.)

“The same Spirit certifieth our spirit, that we are the children of God.” (Rom. viii. 16.)

Moreover, he that hath faith, wotteth well, that God will fulfil his word.

Whereby it appeareth, that faith is a certainty or assuredness.

*A Man is justified by Faith.*

“Abraham believed God, and it was imputed unto him for righteousness.” (Rom. iv. 3.)

“We suppose therefore, that a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law.” (Rom. iii. 28. Gal. ii. 16.)

“He that worketh not, but believeth on Him that justifieth the wicked, his faith is counted to him for righteousness.” (Rom. iv. 5.)

“The just man liveth by his faith.” (Hab. ii. 4. Rom. i. 17.)

“We wot, that a man is not justified by the deeds of the law: but by the faith of Jesus Christ: and we believe in Jesus Christ, that we may be justified by the faith of Christ, and not by the deeds of the law.” (Gal. ii. 16.)

*What is the Faith of Christ?*

The faith of Christ is, to believe in him, that is, to believe his word, and believe that he will help thee in all thy need, and deliver thee from all evil.

Thou wilt ask me, What word? I answer, The Gospel.

“He that believeth in Christ, shall be saved.” (Mark, xvi. 16.)

“He that believeth the Son, hath everlasting life.” (John, iii. 36.)

“ Verily, I say unto you, he that believeth in me hath everlasting life.” (John, vi. 47.)

“ This I write unto you, that ye believe on the Son of God, that ye may know how that ye have eternal life.” (1 John, v. 13.)

“ Thomas, because thou hast seen me, therefore hast thou believed. Happy are they which have not seen, and yet have believed in me.” (John, xx. 29.)

“ All the prophets to him bare witness, that whosoever believeth in him, shall have remission of their sins.” (Acts, x. 43.)

“ What must I do, that I may be saved?” the Apostles answered: “ Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved.” (Acts, xvi. 30, 31.)

“ If thou acknowledge with thy mouth, that Jesus is the Lord, and believest with thine heart, that God raised him from death, thou shalt be safe.” (Rom. x. 9.)

“ He that believeth not in Christ, shall be condemned.” (Mark, xvi. 16.)

“ He that believeth not the Son, shall never see life, but the wrath of God abideth upon him.” (John, iii. 36.)

“ The Holy Ghost shall reprove the world of sin, because they believe not in me.” (John, xvi. 9.)

“ They that believe in Jesus Christ, are the sons of God.” (1 John, v. 1.)

Ye are all the sons of God, because ye believe in Jesus Christ.

He that believeth that Christ is the Son of God, is safe.

“ Peter said, Thou art Christ the Son of the living God; Jesus answered and said unto him: Happy art thou, Simon, the son of Jonas, for flesh and blood have not opened to thee that; but my Father, that is in heaven.” (Mat, xvi. 16, 17.)

"We have believed, and know that thou art Christ, the Son of the living God." (John, vi. 69.)

"I believe, that thou art Christ the Son of God, which should come into the world." (John, xi. 27.)

"These things are written that ye might believe, that Jesus is Christ the Son of God, and that ye, in believing, might have life." (John, xx. 31.)

"I believe that Jesus is the Son of God." (Acts, viii. 37.)

*The sixteenth Proposition.*

He that believeth the Gospel, believeth God.

*Argument.*

He that believeth God's word, believeth God.

The Gospel is God's word.

Therefore, he that believeth the Gospel, believeth God.

To believe the Gospel is this; that Christ is the Saviour of the world. (John, iv. 42.)

Christ is our Saviour. (Luke, ii. 11.)

Christ bought us with his blood. (Heb. xiii. 20. 1 Pet. i. 18, 19.)

Christ washed us with his blood. (Rev. i. 5.)

Christ offered himself for us. (Heb. ix. 14.)

Christ bare our sins on his own back. (1 Pet. ii. 24.)

*The seventeenth Proposition.*

He that believeth not the Gospel, believeth not God.

*Argument.*

He that believeth not God's word, believeth not God himself.

The Gospel is God's word.

Therefore, he that believeth not the Gospel, believeth not God himself, and consequently, he that believeth not those things above written, and such others, believeth not God.



*The eighteenth Proposition.*

He that believeth the Gospel, shall be saved.

“Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel unto every creature: he that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved: but he that believeth not, shall be condemned.” (Mark, xvi. 16.)

*A Comparison between Faith, and Unbelief.*

Faith is the root of all good.

Unbelief is the root of all evil.

Faith maketh God and man good friends.

Unbelief maketh them foes.

Faith bringeth God and man together.

Unbelief sundereth them.

All that faith doth pleaseth God.

All that unbelief doth displeaseth God.

Faith only maketh a man good and righteous.

Unbelief only maketh him unjust and evil.

Faith maketh a man a member of Christ.

Unbelief maketh him a member of the devil,

Faith maketh him the inheritor of heaven.

Unbelief maketh a man inheritor of hell.

Faith maketh a man the servant of God.

Unbelief maketh him the servant of the devil.

Faith sheweth us God to be a sweet Father.

Unbelief sheweth him a terrible Judge.

Faith holdeth stiff by the word of God.

Unbelief wavereth here and there.

Faith counteth and holdeth God to be true.

Unbelief holdeth him false and a liar.

Faith knoweth God.

Unbelief knoweth him not.

Faith loveth both God and his neighbour.

Unbelief loveth neither of them.

Faith only saveth us.

Unbelief only condemneth us.

Faith extolleth God and his deeds.

Unbelief extolleth herself and her own deeds.

*Of Hope.*

Hope is a trusty looking after the thing that is promised us to come : as we hope after the everlasting joy, which Christ hath promised unto all that believe in him.

We should put our hope and trust in God alone, and in no other thing.

“ It is good to trust in God, and not in man.”  
(Psal. cxviii. 8.)

“ He that trusteth in his own heart, is a fool.”  
(Prov. xxviii. 26.)

“ It is good to trust in God, and not in princes.”  
(Psal. cxviii. 9.)

“ They shall be like unto the images which they make, and all that trust in them.” (Psal. cxv. 8.)

He that trusteth in his own thoughts, doth ungodly. (Prov. xii. 5.)

Cursed be he that trusteth in man. (Jer. xvii. 5.)

“ Bid the rich men of this world, that they trust not in their unstable riches, but that they trust in the living God.” (1 Tim. vi. 17.)

“ It is hard for them that trust in money, to enter into the kingdom of heaven.” (Luke, xviii. 24.)

Moreover, we should trust in him only that may help us ; God only may help us ; therefore we should trust in him only.

Well are they that trust in God : and woe to them that trust not in him.

“ Well is that man that trusteth in God, for God shall be his trust.” (Jer. xvii. 7.)

He that trusteth in him, shall understand the verity.

They shall all rejoice that trust in thee : they shall ever be glad, and thou wilt defend them. (Psal. v. 11.)

*Of Charity.*

Charity is the love of thy neighbour. The rule of charity is this, do as thou wouldest be done to: for Christ holdeth all alike, the rich, the poor, the friend and the foe, the thankful and unthankful, the kinsman and stranger.

*A Comparison between Faith, Hope, and Charity.*

Faith cometh of the word of God: Hope cometh of faith: and Charity springeth of them both.

Faith believeth the word: hope trusteth after that, that is promised by the word: charity doth good unto her neighbour, through the love that she hath to God, and gladness that is within herself.

Faith looketh to God and his word: hope looketh unto his gift and reward: charity looketh on her neighbour's profit.

Faith receiveth God: hope receiveth his reward: charity loveth her neighbour with a glad heart, and that without any respect of reward.

Faith pertaineth to God only: hope to his reward: and charity to her neighbour.

*The Doctrine of Works.**No Manner of Works make us righteous.*

We believe that a man shall be justified without works. (Rom. iii. 28.)

No man is justified by the deeds of the law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ, and we believe in Jesus Christ that we may be justified by the faith of Christ, and not by the deeds of the law: for if righteousness come by the law, then died Christ in vain. (Gal. ii. 16. 21.)

That no man is justified by the law, is manifest, for a righteous man liveth by his faith, but the law is not of faith.

Moreover, since Christ, the maker of heaven and

earth, and all that is therein, behoved to die for us ; we are compelled to grant, that we were so far drowned and sunk in sin, that neither our deeds nor all the treasures, that ever God made or might make, could have holpen us out of them : therefore no deeds, nor works may make us righteous.

*No Works make us unrighteous.*

If any evil works make us unrighteous, then the contrary works should make us righteous. But it is proved that no works can make us righteous : therefore no works make us unrighteous.

*Works make us neither good nor evil.*

It is proved, that works neither make us righteous nor unrighteous : therefore no works make us either good or evil : for righteous and good are one thing, and unrighteous and evil likewise one.

Good works make not a good man, nor evil works an evil man ; but a good man bringeth forth good works, and an evil man evil works.

Good fruit maketh not the tree good, nor evil fruit the tree evil ; but a good tree beareth good fruit, and an evil tree evil fruit.

A good man cannot do evil works, nor an evil man good works ; for a good tree cannot bear evil fruit, nor an evil tree good fruit.

A man is good, ere he do good works, and evil ere he do evil works ; for the tree is good ere it bear good fruit, and evil, ere it bear evil fruit.

*Every Man, and the Works of Man, are either good or evil.*

Every tree, and the fruits thereof, are either good or evil : either make ye the tree good, and the fruit good also, or else make the tree evil, and the fruit of it likewise evil. (Mat. xii. 33.)

A good man is known by his works, for a good man doth good works, and an evil man, evil works. Ye shall know them by their fruits, for a good tree

beareth good fruit, and an evil tree, evil fruit. A man is likened to the tree, and his works to the fruit of the tree.

“Beware of the false prophets, which come to you in sheep’s clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves : ye shall know them by their fruits.” (Mat. vii. 15.)

*None of our Works either save us, or condemn us.*

If works make us neither righteous, nor unrighteous, then thou wilt say, it maketh no matter what we do. I answer, if thou do evil, it is a sure argument, that thou art evil, and wantest faith. If thou do good, it is an argument that thou art good, and hast faith, for a good tree beareth good fruit, and an evil tree, evil fruit. Yet good fruit maketh not the tree good, nor evil fruit the tree evil : so that a man is good, ere he do good deeds, and evil, ere he do evil deeds.

*The Man is the Tree, his Works are the Fruit.*

Faith maketh the good tree, and unbelief the evil tree : such a tree, such fruit ; such a man, such works : for all things that are done in faith, please God, and are good works : and all that are done without faith, displease God, and are evil works.

Whosoever believeth, or thinketh to be saved by his works, denieth that Christ is his Saviour, that Christ died for him, and all things that pertain to Christ. For how is he thy Saviour, if thou mightest save thyself by thy works, or whereto should he die for thee, if any of thy works might have saved thee ?

What is this to say, Christ died for thee ? verily, that thou shouldest have died perpetually, and Christ to deliver thee from death, died for thee, and changed thy perpetual death, into his own death : for thou madest the fault, and he suffered the pain, and that for the love he had to thee, before thou wast born, when thou hadst done neither good nor evil.

Now, seeing he hath paid thy debt, thou needest not, neither canst thou pay it, but shouldest be damned, if his blood were not. But since he was punished for thee, thou shalt not be punished.

Finally, he hath delivered thee from thy condemnation and all evil, and desireth nought of thee, but that thou wilt acknowledge what he hath done for thee, and bear it in mind: and that thou wouldest help others for his sake, both in word and deed, even as he hath holpen thee for nought, and without reward.

O how ready would we be to help others, if we knew his goodness and gentleness towards us? He is a good and a gentle Lord, for he doth all for nought. Let us beseech you, therefore, follow his footsteps, whom all the world ought to praise and worship. Amen.

*He that thinketh to be saved by his Works, calleth himself Christ.*

For he calleth himself the Saviour, which pertaineth to Christ only.

What is a Saviour, but he that saveth? and he saith, I saved myself, which is as much to say, as I am Christ, for Christ only is the Saviour of the world.

*We should do no good Works for the Intent to get the Inheritance of Heaven, or Remission of Sin.*

For whosoever believeth to get the inheritance of heaven, or remission of sin, through works, he believeth not to get the same for Christ's sake. And they that believe not, that their sins are forgiven them, and that they shall be saved for Christ's sake, they believe not the Gospel: for the Gospel saith you shall be saved for Christ's sake; your sins are forgiven for Christ's sake.

He that believeth not the Gospel, believeth not God. So it followeth, that they which believe to be saved by their works, or to get remission of their

sins by their own deeds, believe not God, but account him a liar, and so utterly deny him to be God.

*Objection.*

Thou wilt say, Shall we then do no good deeds?

*Answer.*

I say not so, but I say, we should do no good works, for the intent to get the inheritance of heaven, or remission of sin. For if we believe to get the inheritance of heaven through good works, then we believe not to get it through the promise of God. Or, if we think to get remission of our sins by our deeds, then we believe not that they are forgiven us, and so we account God a liar. For God saith, Thou shalt have the inheritance of heaven for my Son's sake: thy sins are forgiven thee for my Son's sake: and you say it is not so, but I will win it through my works. Thus you see, I condemn not good deeds, but I condemn the false trust in any works; for all the works wherein a man putteth any confidence, are therefore poisoned and become evil.

Wherefore, thou must do good works, but beware thou do them not to deserve any good through them; for if thou do, thou receivest the good, not as the gifts of God, but as debt due to thee, and makest thyself fellow with God, because thou wilt take nothing of him for nought. And what needeth he any thing of thine, which giveth all things, and is not the poorer?

Therefore do nothing to him, but take of him; for he is a gentle Lord, and with a more glad will giveth us all that we need, than we can take it of him: if then we want aught, let us thank ourselves.

Press not therefore to the inheritance of heaven, through presumption of thy good works, for if thou do, thou countest thyself holy and equal to God, be-

cause thou wilt take nothing of him for nought, and so shalt thou fall, as Lucifer fell for his pride.

Certain brief Notes or Declarations upon the foresaid Places  
of Master Patrick.

This little treatise of *Master Patrick's Places*, albeit, in quantity it be short, yet in effect, it comprehendeth matter, able to fill large volumes, declaring to us the true doctrine of the law, of the Gospel, of faith, and of works; with the nature, and properties, and also the difference of the same. Which difference is thus to be understood, that in the cause of salvation, and in the office of justifying, these are to be removed and separated asunder; the law from the Gospel, and faith from works: otherwise in the person, that is justified, and also in order of doctrine, they ought commonly to go necessarily together.

Therefore, wheresoever any question or doubt ariseth of salvation, or our justifying before God, there the law, and all good works must be utterly excluded and stand apart, that grace may appear free, the promise simple, and that faith may stand alone. Which faith alone, without law or works, worketh to every man *particularly* his salvation, through mere promise, and the free grace of God. This word, *particularly*, I add, for the particular certifying of every man's heart privately and peculiarly, that believeth in Christ. For as the body of Christ is the cause *efficient* of the redemption of the whole world in general: so, is faith the *instrumental* cause, by which every man applieth the said body of Christ *particularly* to his own salvation. So, that in the action and office of justification, both law and works here are utterly secluded and exempted, as things having nothing to do in this behalf: the reason is this: for seeing that all our redemption universally springeth only from the body of the Son of God crucified; then is there nothing, that can stand us in stead, but that only, wherewith this body of Christ is apprehended. Now, forsomuch as neither the law nor works, but faith only is the thing which apprehendeth the body and death of Christ, therefore faith only is that matter which justifieth every soul before God, through the strength of that object which it doth apprehend. For the object only of our faith, is the body of Christ, like as the brazen serpent was the object only of the Israelites' looking, and not of their hands' working: by the strength of which object, through the promise of God, immediately proceeded health to the beholders. So, the body of Christ, being the object of our faith, striketh righteousness to our souls, not through working, but believing only.

Thus you see, how faith, being the only eye of our souls, standeth alone with her object, in case of justifying: but yet nevertheless, in the body she standeth not alone: for besides the eye, there are



also hands to work, feet to walk, ears to hear, and other members more, every one convenient for the service of the body; and yet there is none of them all that can see, but only the eye. So, in a Christian man's life, and in order of doctrine, there is the law, there is repentance, there is hope, charity, and deeds of charity: all which, in life, and in doctrine, are joined, and necessarily do concur together, and yet in the action of justifying, there is nothing else in man, that hath any part or place, but only faith apprehending the object, which is the body of Christ Jesus for us crucified, in whom consisteth all the worthiness and fulness of our salvation, by faith: that is, by our apprehending and receiving of him, according as it is written (John, i. 12.), "Whosoever received him, he gave them power to be made the sons of God, even all such as believed in his name, &c." Also (Isa. liii. 11.), "And this just servant of mine, in the knowledge of him shall justify many, &c."

*Argument.*

Apprehending and receiving of Christ only, maketh us justified before God. (John, i. 12.)

Christ only is apprehended and received by faith.

Therefore, faith only maketh us justified before God.

*Argument.*

Justification cometh only by apprehending and receiving of Christ. (Isa. liii. 11.)

The law and works do nothing pertain to the apprehending of Christ.

Therefore, the law and works pertain nothing to justification.

*Argument.*

Nothing, which is unjust of itself, can justify us before God, or help any thing to our justifying.

Every work we do, is unjust before God. (Isa. lxiv. 6.)

Therefore, no works that we do, can justify us before God, nor help any thing to our justifying.

*Argument.*

If works could any thing further our justification, then should our works something profit us before God.

No works (do the best we can) do profit us before God. (Luke, xvii. 10.)

Therefore, no works that we do, can any thing further our justification.

*Argument.*

All that we can do with God, is only by Christ. (John, xv. 5.)

Our works and merits are not Christ, neither any part of him.

Therefore, our works and merits can do nothing with God.

*Argument.*

That which is the cause of condemnation, cannot be the cause of justification.

The law is the cause of condemnation. (Rom. iv. 15.)

Therefore, it is not the cause of justification.

*A Consequent.*

We are quit and delivered from the law. (Rom. vii. 4.)

Therefore, we are not quit and delivered by the law.

Forasmuch therefore, as the truth of the Scripture, in express words, hath thus included our salvation in faith only, we are enforced necessarily to exclude all other causes and means in our justification, and to make this difference between the law and the Gospel, between faith and works, affirming with the Scripture and word of God, that the law condemneth us, our works do not avail us, and that faith in Christ only justifieth us. And this difference and distinction ought diligently to be learned and retained of all Christians, especially in conflict of conscience, between the law and the Gospel; faith and works; grace and merits; promise and condition; God's free election and man's free will. So, that the light of the free grace of God, in our salvation, may appear to all consciences, to the immortal glory of God's holy name, Amen,

*The Order and Differences of Places.*

{ The Gospel.	{ Faith.	{ Grace.	{ Promise.	{ God's free election
{ The Law.	{ Works.	{ Merits.	{ Condition.	{ Man's free will.

The difference and repugnance of these foresaid places being well noted and expended, it shall give no small light to every faithful Christian, both to understand the Scripture, to judge in cases of conscience, and to reconcile such places in the Old and New Testament, as else may seem to repugn, according to the rule of Austin, saying;

"Make distinction of times, and thou shalt reconcile the Scriptures, &c." Contrariwise, where men be not perfectly in these places instructed, to discern between the law and the Gospel, between faith and works, &c.; so long they can never rightly establish their minds in the free promises of God's grace; but walk confusedly, without order in all matters of religion. Example whereof we have too much in the Romish church, who confounding these places together without distinction, following no method, have perverted the true order of Christian doctrine, and have obscured the sweet comfort and benefit of the Gospel of Christ, not knowing what the true use of the law, nor of the Gospel meaneth,

*In the Doctrine of the Law three Things are to be noted.*

In the law therefore three things are to be considered: first, what is the true rigour and strength of the law, which is, to require full and perfect obedience of the whole man, not only to restrain his outward actions, but also his inward motions and inclinations of will and affection, from the appetite of sin: and therefore saith St. Paul: "The law is spiritual, but I am carnal, &c." (Rom. vii. 14.) Whereupon riseth this proposition: that it is not in our nature and power to fulfil the law. Likewise, the law commaundeth that which is to us impossible, &c. The second thing to be noted in the doctrine of the law, is to consider the time and place of the

law, what they are, and how far they extend. For as the surging seas have their banks and bars to keep them in; so, the law hath his times and limits which it ought not to pass. If Christ had not come and suffered, the time and dominion of the law had been everlasting. But now, seeing Christ hath come and hath died in his righteous flesh, the power of the law against our sinful flesh doth cease. "For the end of the law is Christ." (Rom. x. 4.) That is, the death of Christ's body is the death of the law to all that believe in him: so, that whosoever repent of their sins, and fly to the death and passion of Christ, the condemnation and time of the law to them is expired. Wherefore, this is to be understood as a perpetual rule in the Scripture, that the law with all its sentences and judgments, wheresoever they are written, either in the Old Testament or in the New, doth ever include a privy exception of repentance and belief in Christ, to the which always it giveth place, having there its end, and can proceed no further, according as St. Paul doth say; "The law is our schoolmaster until Christ, that we might be justified by faith." (Gal. iii. 25.)

Moreover, as the law hath its time, how long to reign, so also it hath its proper place, where to reign. By the reign of the law here is meant, the condemnation of the law: for as the time of the law ceaseth, when the faith of Christ, in a true repenting heart, beginneth: so, hath the law no place in such, as are good and faithful, that is, in sinners repenting and amending, but only in them which are evil and wicked. Evil men here I call all such, which walking in sinful flesh, are not yet driven by earnest repentance, to fly to Christ for succour. And therefore saith St. Paul: "To the just man there is no law set, but to the unjust and disobedient, &c." (1 Tim. i. 9.) By the just man here is meant, not he, which never had disease, but he, who knowing his disease, seeketh out the Physician, and being cured, keepeth himself in health, as much as he may, from any more surfeits: notwithstanding, he shall never so keep himself, but that his health (that is, his new obedience) shall always remain frail and imperfect, and shall continually need the Physician. Where, by the way, these three things are to be noted, 1. The sickness itself. 2. The knowing of the sickness. 3. The Physician. The sickness is sin. The knowing of the sickness is repentance, which the law worketh. The Physician is Christ. And therefore, although in remission of our sins, repentance is joined with faith, yet it is not the dignity or worthiness of repentance, that causeth remission of sins, but only the worthiness of Christ, whom faith only apprehendeth: no more than the feeling of the disease is the cause of health, but only the Physician. For else when man is cast and condemned by the law, it is not repentance that can save or deserve life, but if his pardon come, then is it the grace of the prince, and not his repentance that saveth.

The third point to be considered in the doctrine of the law, is this: that we mark well the end and purpose, why the law is given, which is, not to bring us to salvation, nor to work God's favour, nor to make us good: but rather to declare and convict our wickedness, and to make us feel the danger thereof to this end and purpose, that we, seeing our condemnation, and being in ourselves confounded, may be driven thereby to have our refuge in Christ, the Son of God, and to submit ourselves to him, in whom only is to be found our remedy, and in none other. And this end of the law discreetly ought to be pondered of all Christians. Otherwise, they, that consider not this end and purpose of the law, fall into manifold errors and inconveniencies. 1. They pervert all order of doctrine. 2. They seek that in the law, which the law cannot give. 3. They are not able to comfort themselves, nor others. 4. They keep men's souls in an uncertain doubt of their salvation. 5. They obscure the light of God's grace. 6. They are unkind to God's benefits. 7. They are injurious to Christ's passion, and enemies to his cross. 8. They stop Christian liberty. 9. They bereave the church, the spouse of Christ, of her due comfort, as taking away the sun out of the world. 10. In all their doings they shoot at a wrong mark. For where Christ only is set up to be apprehended by our faith, and so freely to justify us: they leaving this justification by faith, set up other marks, partly of the law, partly of their own devising, for men to shoot at. And here come in the manifest and manifold absurdities of the Bishop of Rome's doctrine, which here (the Lord willing) we will rehearse, as in a catalogue here following.

*Errors and Absurdities of the Papists touching the Doctrine of the Law, and of the Gospel.*

1. They erroneously conceive opinion of salvation in the law, which only is to be sought in the faith of Christ, and in no other.

2. They erroneously do seek God's favour by works of the law, not knowing that the law in this our corrupt nature worketh only the anger of God. (Rom. iv. 15.)

3. They err also in this, that where the office of the law is divers and contrary from the Gospel, they, without any difference, confound the one with the other, making the Gospel to be a law, and Christ to be a Moses.

4. They err in dividing the law unskilfully into three parts; into the law natural, the law moral, and the law evangelical.

5. They err again, in dividing the law evangelical, into precepts and counsels, making the precepts to serve for all men, the counsels only to serve for them that are perfect.

6. The chief substance of all their teaching and preaching resteth upon the works of the law, as may appear by their reli-

gion, which wholly consisteth in men's merits, traditions, laws, canons, decrees, and ceremonies.

7. In the doctrine of salvation, of remission, and justification, either they admit the law equally with the Gospel, or else cleave, secluding the Gospel, they teach and preach the law, so that little mention is made of the faith of Christ, or none at all.

8. They err in thinking, that the law of God requireth nothing in us, under pain of damnation, but only our obedience in external actions; as for the inward affections and concupiscence, they esteem but light matters.

9. They, not knowing the true nature and strength of the law, do erroneously imagine, that it is in man's power to fulfil it.

10. They err in thinking it not only to be in man's power to keep the law of God, but also to perform more perfect works than are in God's law commanded, and these they call the works of perfection. And hereof rise the works of supererogation, of satisfaction, of congruity, and condignity, to store up the treasure-house of the pope's church, to be sold out to the people for money.

11. They err, in saying, that the state monastical is more perfect, for keeping the counsels of the Gospel, than other states are, in keeping the law of the Gospel.

12. The counsels of the Gospel they call the vows of their religious men, as profound humility, perfect chastity, and wilful poverty.

13. They err abominably, in equalling their laws and constitutions, with God's law, and in saying, that man's law bindeth under pain of damnation, no less than God's law.

14. They err sinfully, in punishing the transgressors of their laws more sharply than the transgressors of the law of God, as appeareth by their inquisitions and their canon law, &c.

15. Finally, they err most horribly in this, that where the free promise of God ascribeth our salvation, only to our faith in Christ, excluding works: they contrarily ascribe salvation only, or principally, to works and merits, excluding faith. Whereupon riseth the application of the sacrifice of the mass, *ex opere operato* (i. e. by the work wrought), for the quick and dead: application of the merits of Christ's passion in bulls: application of the merits of all religious orders; and many other falsehoods.

*Here follow three cautions to be observed and avoided in the true understanding of the Law.*

#### *The first Caution.*

First, that we through the misunderstanding of the Scriptures, do not take the law for the Gospel, nor the Gospel for the law: but skilfully discern and distinguish the voice of the one, from the

voice of the other. Many there are, which reading the book of the New Testament, do take and understand whatsoever they see contained in the said book, to be only and merely the voice of the Gospel. And contrariwise, whatsoever is contained in the compass of the Old Testament, that is, within the law, histories, psalms, and prophets, to be only and merely the word and voice of the law; wherein many are deceived. For the preaching of the law and the Gospel, are mixed together in both the Testaments, as well the old as the new. Neither is the order of these two doctrines to be distinguished by books and leaves, but by the diversity of God's Spirit, speaking unto us. For sometimes in the Old Testament, God doth comfort, as he comforted Adam with the voice of the Gospel. Sometimes, also in the New Testament he doth threaten and terrify, as when Christ threatened the pharisees: in some places again, Moses and the prophets play the evangelists. Inasmuch, that Jerome doubted whether he should call Isaiah a prophet, or an evangelist. In some places likewise, Christ and the Apostles supply the part of Moses: and as Christ himself, until his death, was under the law (which law he came not to break, but to fulfil), so, his sermons made to the Jews, for the most part run all upon the perfect doctrine and works of the law, shewing and teaching what we ought to do by the right law of justice, and what danger ensueth in not performing the same. All which places though they are contained in the book of the New Testament, yet are they to be referred to the doctrine of the law, ever having in them included a privy exception of repentance, and faith in Christ Jesus. As for example, where Christ thus preached: "Blessed are they that are pure in heart, for they shall see God, &c." (Mat. v. 8.) Again: "Except ye are made like these children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven, &c." (Mat. xviii. 3.) Again: "But he that doeth the will of my Father, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, &c." (Mat. vii. 21.) Again: the parable of the unkind servant justly cast into prison for not forgiving his fellow, &c. (Mat. xviii. 23.) The casting of the rich glutton into hell, &c. (Luke, xvi.) Again: "He that denieth me here before men, I will deny him before my Father, &c." (Luke, xii. 9.) With such other places of like condition. All these (I say) pertaining to the doctrine of the law, do ever include in them a secret exception of earnest repentance, and faith in Christ's precious blood. For Peter denied, and yet repented. Many publicans and sinners were unkind, unmerciful, and hard-hearted to their fellow-servants, and yet many of them repented, and by faith were saved, &c. The grace of Christ Jesus work in us earnest repentance, and faith in him unfeigned. Amen.

Briefly, to know when the law speaketh, and when the Gospel speaketh, and to discern the voice of the one, from the voice of the other, this may serve for a note: that when there is any moral

work commanded to be done, either for eschewing punishment, or upon promise of any reward temporal, or eternal; or when any promise is made with condition of any work commanded in the law; *there* is to be understood the voice of the law. Contrarily, where the promise of life and salvation is offered unto us freely without all our merits, and simply without any condition annexed, of any law, either natural, ceremonial, or moral, all those places, whether they are read in the Old Testament, or in the New, are to be referred to the voice and doctrine of the Gospel. And this promise of God freely made to us by the merits of Jesus Christ, so long before prophesied to us in the Old Testament, and afterwards exhibited in the New Testament, and now requiring nothing but our faith in the Son of God, is called properly the voice of the Gospel, and differeth from the voice of the law in this, that it hath no condition adjoined of our meriting, but only respecteth the merits of Christ, the Son of God, by whose faith only we are promised of God to be saved and justified, according as we read, (Rom. iii. 22.) "The righteousness of God cometh by faith of Jesus Christ, in all and upon all, that do believe, &c."

: The second caution or danger to be avoided is, that we, now knowing, how to discern rightly between the law and the Gospel, and having intelligence not to mistake the one for the other, must take heed again, that we break not the order between these two, taking and applying the law, where the Gospel is to be applied, either to ourselves, or towards others. For albeit, the law and the Gospel, many times are to be joined together in order of doctrine; yet case may fall sometimes, that the law must be utterly sequestered from the Gospel. As when any person or persons do feel themselves, with the majesty of the law, and judgments of God so terrified and oppressed, and with the burden of their sins overweighed and thrown down into utter discomfort, and almost even to the pit of hell, as happeneth many times to soft and timorous consciences of God's good servants: when such mortified hearts do hear, either in preaching, or in reading, any such example or place of the Scripture, which pertaineth to the law, let them think the same nothing to belong to them, no more than mourning weeds belong to a marriage feast: and therefore removing utterly out of their minds all cogitation of the law, of fear, of judgment, and condemnation, let them only set before their eyes the Gospel, the sweet comfort of God's promise, free forgiveness of sins in Christ's grace, redemption, liberty, rejoicing, psalms, thanks, singing, and a paradise of spiritual jocundity, and nothing else: thinking thus with themselves, that the law hath done its office in them already, and now must needs give place to its better, that is, must needs give room to Christ, the Son of God, who is the Lord and master, the fulfiller, and also the finisher of the law, for the end of the law is Christ. (Rom. x. 4.)

The third danger to be avoided is, that we do not use or apply, on the contrary side, the Gospel instead of the law. For as the other before was even as much as to put on a mourning gown, in the feast of marriage: so is this but even to cast pearls before swine, wherein is a great abuse among many. For commonly it is seen that these worldly epicures and secure mammonists, to whom the doctrine of the law doth properly appertain, do receive and apply to themselves, most principally, the sweet promises of the Gospel: and contrariwise, the other contrite and bruised hearts, to whom belong only the joyful tidings of the Gospel, and not the law, for the most part, receive and retain to themselves the terrible voice and sentence of the law. Whereby it cometh to pass, that many do rejoice, where they should mourn: and on the other side, many do fear and mourn, where they need not. Wherefore to conclude, in private use of life, let every person discreetly discern between the law and the Gospel, and aptly apply to himself that which he seeth convenient,

And again in public order of doctrine, let every discreet preacher put a difference between the broken heart of the mourning sinner, and the unrepenting worldling, and so conjoin both the law with the Gospel, and the Gospel with the law, that in throwing down the wicked, ever he may spare the weak-hearted: and again, so spare the weak, that he do not encourage the ungodly. And thus much concerning the conjunction and difference between the law and the Gospel, upon the occasion of *Master Patrick's Places*.





THE  
LIFE  
AND  
SELECTIONS FROM THE WRITINGS  
OF  
DR. ROBERT BARNES,  
*The Martyr.*



# THE STORY, LIFE, and MARTYRDOM

OF

## ROBERT BARNES, D. D.

*As related by John Fox, in his Acts and Monuments  
of the Christian Martyrs.*

THE first bringing up of Dr. Robert Barnes a child, was in the university of Cambridge where he was made a novice in the house of the friars in that place. He being very apt unto learning, did so profit, that by the help of his friends he was removed from thence to the university of Louvain in Brabant, where he remained certain years, and greatly profited in the study of the tongues, and there proceeded Doctor in Divinity. From thence he returned again into England, and was made master and master of the house of the Austin Friars in Cambridge.

At that time the knowledge of good letters scarcely entered into the university, all things being full of rudeness and barbarity, saving in a few which were privy and secret. Whereupon Barnes, having some feeling of better learning and of the use of the tongue, began in his house to read Terence, Plautus, Cicero; so that what with his industry, pain and labour, and with the help of Thomas Parnell, his scholar, whom he brought from Lovaine with him, and his *Copia verborum et rerum*; he caused the house to flourish with good letters, and made a great number of the house learned (which before were in barbarous rudeness), as Master Cambridge

Field, Master Coleman, Master Burley, Master Coverdale, with divers others of the university, that sojourned there for learning's sake. After these foundations laid, then did he read openly in the house Paul's Epistles, and put by Duns and Darbel, and yet he was a questionnaire himself: and only, because he would have Christ there taught and his holy word, he turned their unsavoury problems and fruitless disputations to other better matter of the holy Scripture, and thereby in short space he made divers good divines. The same order of disputation, which he kept in his house, he observed likewise in the university abroad, when he should dispute with any man in the common schools. And the first man that answered Doctor Barnes in the Scriptures, was Master Stafford for his form to be bachelor of divinity; which disputation was marvellous in the sight of the great blind doctors, and joyful to the godly spirited.

Thus Barnes, what with his reading, disputation, and preaching, became famous and mighty in the Scriptures, preaching ever against bishops and hypocrites, and yet did not see his inward and outward idolatry, which he both taught and maintained, till that good Master Bilney (the martyr) with others converted him wholly unto Christ.

The first sermon that ever he preached of this truth, was the Sunday before Christmas day, at St. Edward's church, belonging to Trinity Hall, in Cambridge, by the pease-market, whose theme was the epistle of the same Sunday, "Rejoice in the Lord, &c." And he so postilled the whole epistle, following the Scripture and Luther's postil, that for that sermon he was immediately accused of heresy by two fellows of the King's Hall. Then the godly learned in Christ, both of Pembroke Hall, St. John's, Peter House, Queen's College, the King's College,

Gonwell Hall, and Bennet College, shewed themselves, and flocked together in open sight, both in the schools and at open sermons at St. Mary's and at the Austins, and at other disputations, and then they conferred continually together.

The house that they resorted most commonly unto was the White-Horse, which for despite of them, to bring God's word into contempt, was called Germany. This house especially was chosen because of them of St. John's. The King's College and the Queen's College came in on the back side. At this time much trouble began to ensue. The adversaries of Dr. Barnes accused him in the regent house before the vice chancellor, whereas his articles were presented with him and received, he promising to make answer at the next convocation, and so it was done. Then Dr. Hottoris, a rank enemy to Christ, moved Dr. Barnes to recant, but he refused so to do, which appeareth in his book that he made to King Henry VIII. in English, confuting the judgment of Cardinal Wolsey, and the residue of the papistical bishops, and so for the time stood stedfast. And this tragedy continued in Cambridge, one preaching against another, in trying out of God's truth, until within six days of Shrovetide. Then suddenly was sent down to Cambridge a serjeant at arms, called Master Gibson, dwelling in St. Thomas the Apostle's in London, who suddenly arrested Dr. Barnes openly in the convocation-house, to make all others afraid; and privily they had determined to make search for Luther's books, and all the German's works suddenly.

But good Dr. Ferman of the Queen's College sent word incontinently thereof, to the chambers of those that were suspected, which were in number thirty persons. But God be praised, they were conveyed away by that time, that the serjeant at arms, the

vice-chancellor, and the proctors were at every man's chamber, going directly to the place where the books lay (whereby it was perceived that there were some privy spies amongst that small company), and that night they studied together, and gave him his answer, which answer he carried with him to London the next morning, which was the Thursday before Shrove Sunday, and came on the Wednesday to London, and lay at Master Parnel's house, by the Stocks. In the morning he was carried by the serjeant at arms to Cardinal Wolsey, to Westminster, waiting there all day, and could not speak with him till night. Then by reason of Dr. Gardiner, secretary to the Cardinal (of whose familiar acquaintance he had been before), and Master Fox, master of the wards, he spoke the same night with the Cardinal in his chamber of state, kneeling on his knees. Then said the Cardinal to them, "Is this Dr. Barnes your man, that is accused of heresy?"—"Yea, and please your Grace, and we trust you shall find him reformable, for he is both well learned and wise."

"What, Master Doctor (said the Cardinal), had you not a sufficient scope in the Scriptures to teach the people, but that my golden shoes, my pillars, my golden cushions, my crosses did so sore offend you, that you must make us appear ridiculous amongst the people? We were jollily that day laughed to scorn. Verily, it was a sermon more fitter to be preached on a stage than in a pulpit; for at the last you said, I wear a pair of red gloves, I should say, bloody gloves (quoth you), that I should not be cold in the midst of my ceremonies." And he answered, "I speak nothing but the truth out of the Scriptures, according to my conscience, and according to the old Doctors;" and then did he deliver him six sheets of paper written, to confirm and corroborate his sayings.

He received them, smiling on him, and  
 "We perceive then, that you intend to state  
 articles, and to shew your learning."

"Yea," said Barnes, "that I do, by  
 God's grace, with your lordship's favour."

He answered, "Such, as you are, and a  
 little favour and the catholic church. I will  
 question: whether do you think it more  
 that I should have all this royalty, because  
 sent the king's majesty's person in all the  
 of this realm, to the terror and keeping of  
 rebellious treasons, traitors, all the wicked  
 rupt members of this commonwealth; and  
 simple as you would have us, to sell all the  
 said things, and to give it to the poor, and  
 away this majesty of a princely dignity,  
 terror to all the wicked, and to follow you  
 in this behalf?"

He answered, "I think it necessary to  
 given to the poor. For this is not come  
 calling; nor is the king's majesty maintain  
 pomp and show, but by God, who saith,  
 their majesties reign and stand by me."

Then answered he, "Lo Master Doctor,  
 the learned wise man, that you told me of,  
 they kneeled down and said, "We desire  
 to be good unto him, for he will be reformed."

Then said he, "Stand you up; for  
 and the University, we will be good unto  
 say you, Master Doctor, do you not know  
*Legatus de latere*, and that I am able to  
 all matters concerning religion within this  
 much as the pope may?" He said, "I  
 be so."

"Will you then be ruled by us, and  
 all things for your honesty, and for the honour  
 of the University?"



He answered, "I thank your Grace for your good will, I will stick to the holy Scripture, and to God's book, according to the simple talent that God hath lent me."

"Well," said he, "thou shalt have thy learning tried to the uttermost, and thou shalt have the law."

Then he required him that he might have justice with equity, and forthwith he should have gone to the Tower, but that Gardiner and Fox became his sureties that night, and so he came home to M. Parnel's house again, and that night fell to writing again and slept not, Master Coverdale, Master Goodwin, and Master Field being his writers; and in the morning he came to York-place to Gardiner and Fox, and by and by he was committed to the serjeant at arms to bring him into the chapter-house at Westminster before the bishops and the abbot of Westminster, called Islip.

The same time when Dr. Barnes should appear before the Cardinal, there were five Stilliard-men to be examined for Luther's books and Lollardy, but after they spied Barnes, they set the others aside, and asked the serjeant at arms what was his errand. He said he had brought one Dr. Barnes to be examined of heresy, and presented both his articles and his accusers. Then immediately after a little talk, they swore him and laid his articles to him. Who, like as he answered the Cardinal before, so said he unto them; and then he offered the book of his probations unto them. Who asked him, whether he had another for himself, and he said, "Yea;" shewing it unto them. Who then took it from him, and said they would have no leisure to dispute with him at that present, for other affairs of the king's majesty, which they had to do, and therefore bade him stand aside. Then they called the Stilliard-men again one by one, and when they were examined, they

called forth the master of the Fleet prison, and they were committed all to the Fleet. Then they called Dr. Barnes again, and asked him whether he would subscribe to his articles or no, and he subscribed willingly; and then they committed him and young Master Parnel to the Fleet also with the others. There they remained, till Saturday in the morning, and the warden of the Fleet was commanded that no man should speak with him.

On the Saturday he came again afore them into the chapter-house, and there with the Stilliard-men remained till five o'clock at night. And after long disputations, threatenings and scornings, about five o'clock at night they called him, to know whether he would abjure or burn. He was then in a great agony, and thought rather to burn than to abjure. But then was he sent again to have the counsel of Gardiner and Fox, and they persuaded him rather to abjure than to burn, because (they said) he should do more in time to come, and with divers other persuasions, that were mighty in the sight of reason and foolish flesh. Upon that, kneeling upon his knees, he consented to abjure, and the abjuration put in his hand, he abjured as it was there written, and then he subscribed with his own hand; and yet they would scarcely receive him into the bosom of the church, as they termed it. Then they put him to an oath; and charged him to execute, do, and fulfil all that they commanded him, and he promised so to do.

Then they commanded the warden of the Fleet to carry him and his fellows to the place from whence he came, and to be kept in close prison; and in the morning to provide five fagots for Dr. Barnes, and the four Stilliard-men. The fifth Stilliard-man was commanded to have a taper of five pound weight to be provided for him, to offer to the Road of Northen in Paul's, and all these things to be ready by eight of

the clock in the morning ; and that he with all that he could collect, and the knight marshal with all his tipstaves that he could gather, should bring them to Paul's and conduct them home again. In the morning they were all ready by their hour appointed in Paul's church, the church being so full that no man could get in. The Cardinal had a scaffold made on the top of the stairs for himself, with six-and-thirty abbots, mitred priors and bishops, and he in his whole pomp mitred (which Barnes spake against) sat there enthroned, his chaplains and spiritual doctors in gowns of damask and satin, and he himself in purple, even like a bloody Antichrist. And there was a new pulpit erected on the top of the stairs also, for the bishop of Rochester to preach against Luther and Dr. Barnes ; and great baskets full of books standing before them within the rails, which were commanded, after the great fire was made afore the Road of Northen, there to be burned, and these heretics after the sermon to go thrice about the fire and to cast in their fagots.

Now while the sermon was a-doing, Dr. Barnes and the Stilliard-men were commanded to kneel down and ask God forgiveness, the catholic church, and Cardinal's grace, and after that, he was commanded at the end of the sermon to declare that he was more charitably handled than he deserved, or was worthy (his heresies were so horrible and so detestable), and once again kneeled down on his knees, desiring the people to forgive and to pray for him ; and so the Cardinal departed under a canopy with all his mitred men with him till he came to the second gate of Paul's, and then he took his mule, and the mitred men came back again. Then these poor men, being commanded to come down from the stage (whereon the sweepers use to stand when they sweep the church), the bishops sat them down again, and com-

manded the knight marshal and the warden of the Fleet, with their company, to carry them about the fire, and so were they brought to the bishops, and there for absolution kneeled down. Where Rochester stood up and declared unto the people, how many days of pardon and forgiveness of sins they had for being at that sermon, and there did absolve Dr. Barnes with the others, and shewed the people that they were received into the church again.

This done, the warden of the Fleet and the knight marshal were commanded to have them to the Fleet again, and charged that they should have the liberty of the Fleet, as other prisoners had, and that their friends might resort unto them, and there to remain till the lord Cardinal's pleasure was known.

After that Barnes there in the Fleet had continued the space of half a year, at length being delivered, he was committed to be a free prisoner at the Austin-friars in London. When those caterpillars and bloody beasts had there undermined him, they complained again to the lord Cardinal. Whereupon he was removed to the Austin-friars of Northampton, there to be burned. Yet he himself understanding nothing thereof, but supposing still, that he should there remain and continue in free prison, at last, one Master Horne, who had brought him up, and was his special friend, having intelligence of the writ, which should shortly be sent down to burn him, gave him counsel to feign himself to be in despair, and that he should write a letter to the Cardinal and leave it on his table where he lay, and a paper by, to declare whither he was gone to drown himself, and to leave his clothes in the same place; and there another letter to be left to the mayor of the town to search for him in the water, because he had a letter written in parchment about his neck, closed in wax for the Cardinal, which should teach all men to beware by his

example. Upon this, they were seven days in searching for him, but he was conveyed to London in a poor man's apparel, and so tarried not there, but took shipping and went by long seas to Antwerp, and so to Luther, and there fell to study, till he had made an answer to all the bishops of the realm and had made a book entitled, *Acta Romanorum Pontificum*, and another book, with a supplication to king Henry. Immediately it was told the Cardinal, that he was drowned, and he said, "Perish his memory with his name." But this did light upon himself shortly after, who wretchedly died at Leicester.

In the same season Dr. Barnes was made strong in Christ, and got favour both of the learned in Christ, and foreign princes in Germany, and was great with Luther, Melancthon, Pomeranius, Justus Jonas, Degendorphinus and Æpimus, and with the Duke of Saxony, and with the King of Denmark, which king of Denmark in the time of More and Stokesley sent him with the Lubecks, as an ambassador to king Henry the eighth. He lay with the Lubeck's Chancellor at the Stilliard.

Sir Thomas More, then chancellor, would fain have entrapped him, but the king would not let him, for Cromwell was his great friend. And ere he went, the Lubecks and he disputed with the bishops of this realm in defence of the truth, and so he departed again, without restraint, with the Lubecks. After his going again to Wittenberg to the Duke of Saxony, and to Luther, he remained there to set forward his works in print that he had begun, from whence he returned again in the beginning of the reign of Queen Ann (Bullen), as others did, and continued a faithful preacher in this city, being all her time well entertained and promoted. After that he was sent ambassador by king Henry the eighth to the Duke of Cleves, for the marriage of the lady

Ann of Cleves, between the king and her, and was well accepted in that embassy and in all his doings, until the time that Stephen Gardiner came out of France; but after he came, neither religion prospered, nor the Queen's majesty, nor Cromwell, nor the preachers; who, after the marriage of the Lady Ann of Cleves, never ceased until he had grafted the marriage in another stock; by the occasion whereof he began his bloody broil.

For not long after, Dr. Barnes with two of his brethren in faith and tribulation, viz. Master Garret, curate in Honey-lane in London, and Master Hierome, vicar of Stepney, were apprehended and carried before the king's majesty to Hampton-court, and there he was examined. Where the king's majesty, seeking the means of his safety, to bring Winchester and him agreed, at Winchester's request granted him leave to go home with the bishop to confer with him; and so he did. But as it happened, they not agreeing, Gardiner and his compartners sought by all subtle means, how to entangle and to entrap them in farther danger, which not long after was brought to pass. For by certain complaints made to the king of them, they were enjoined to preach three sermons, the next Easter following, at the Spittle.

Stephen Gardiner hearing that the said Barnes, Hierome, and Garret should preach the Lent following, anno 1541, at Paul's Cross, to stop the course of their doctrine sent his chaplain to the bishop of London, the Saturday before the first Sunday in Lent, to have a place for him to preach at Paul's. Which to him was granted, and time appointed that he should preach the Sunday following, which should be on the morrow; which Sunday was appointed before for Barnes to occupy that room. Gardiner therefore, determining to declare the Gospel of that Sun-

day containing the devil's three temptations, began amongst other things to note the abuse of Scripture amongst some, as the devil abused it to Christ, and so alluding to the temptation of the devil, wherein he alleged the Scripture against Christ, to cast himself downward, and that he should take no hurt, he inferred thereupon, saying,

"Now-a-days," quoth he, "the devil tempteth the world, and biddeth them to cast themselves backward. There is no forward in the new teaching, but all backward. Now, the devil teacheth, come back from fasting, come back from praying, come back from confession, come back from weeping for thy sins, and all is backward; insomuch that men must now learn to say their *Pater noster* (Lord's prayer) backward. For where we said, forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors, now it is, as thou forgavest our debts, so I will forgive my debtors, and so God must forgive first; and all, I say, is turned backward, &c." And amongst other things, moreover, he noted the devil's craft and shift in deceiving man: who envying his felicity, and therefore coveting to have man idle, and void of good works, and to be led in that idleness, with a vain hope to live merrily at his pleasure here, and yet to have heaven at the last, hath for that purpose procured out pardons from Rome, wherein heaven was sold for a little money, and to retail that merchandise, the devil used friars for his ministers. "Now they be gone with all their trumpery, but the devil is not yet gone, &c. And now that the devil perceiveth that it can no longer be born, to buy and sell heaven by the friars, he hath excogitated to offer heaven without works for it, so freely, that men shall not need for heaven to work at all, whatsoever opportunity they have to work; marry, if they will have any higher place in heaven, God will leave no work unrewarded; but as to be in heaven needs no work

at all, but *only belief, only, only*, and nothing else, &c."

This sermon of Stephen Winchester finished, Dr. Barnes, who was put off from that Sunday, had his day appointed, which was the third Sunday next ensuing, to make his sermon: who taking the same text of the Gospel which Gardiner had done before, was on the contrary side no less vehement in setting forward the true doctrine of Christian religion, than Winchester had been before in plucking men backward from truth to lies, from sincerity to hypocrisy, from religion to superstition, from Christ to Antichrist. In the process of which sermon, he, proceeding and calling out Stephen Gardiner by name to answer him, alluding in a pleasant allegory to a cock fight, terming the said Gardiner to be a fighting cock, and himself to be another, but the garden cock (he said) lacked good spurs: objecting moreover to the said Gardiner, and opposing him in his grammar rules; thus saying, that if he had answered him in the schools, so as he had there preached at the Cross, he would have given him six stripes. Declaring furthermore what evil herbs this Gardiner had set in the garden of God's Scripture, &c.

Finally, with this sermon Gardiner was so tickled in the spleen that he immediately went to the king to complain, shewing how he, being a bishop and a prelate of the realm, was handled and reviled at Paul's Cross.

Whereupon the king, giving too much ear to Gardiner's grief, was earnestly incensed against Barnes, and with many high words rebuked his doings in his privy closet, having with him the earl of Southampton which was the lord Wriothesly, and the master of the horse, which was Antony Brown, Dr. Cocks, and Dr. Robinson. Unto whom, when Barnes had submitted himself; "Nay," said the



king, "yield thee not to me, I am a mortal man," and therewith rising up, and turning to the sacrament and putting off his bonnet, said, "Yonder is the Master of us all, the author of truth, yield in truth to him, and that truth will I defend, and otherwise yield thee not unto me." Much ado there was, and great matter laid against Barnes. In conclusion, this order was taken, that Barnes should go apart with Winchester, to confer and commune together of their doctrine, certain witnesses being thereunto appointed, to be as indifferent hearers, of whom the one was Dr. Cocks, the other was Dr. Robinson, with two others also to them assigned, which should be reporters to the king of the disputation. At the first entry of which talk, Gardiner, forgiving him (as he saith) all that was past, offered him the choice, whether he would answer or oppose—(which was the Friday after that Barnes had preached). The question between then propounded, by Gardiner's narration was this; whether a man could do any thing good or acceptable before the grace of justification, or not? Which question rose upon a certain contention which had been between them before. For Barnes had affirmed, that albeit God requireth of us to forgive our neighbour, to obtain forgiveness of him; yet he said, that God must forgive us first, before we forgive our neighbour; for else to forgive our neighbour were sin, by the text which saith, "All that is not of faith is sin, &c." Thus the matter being propounded, Gardiner, to prove the contrary, came forth with his arguments two or three: to the which arguments (saith Gardiner) Barnes could not answer, but desired to be spared that night, and the next morning he would answer his arguments. In the morning, Gardiner, with the hearers being again assembled, Dr. Barnes, according to the appointment, was present, who then went about to assail his argu-

ments. To his solutions Gardiner, again replied. And thus continued they in this altercation by the space of two hours. This done, the king being advertised of the conclusion of this matter between Barnes and Winchester, was content that Barnes should repair to the bishop's house at London the Sunday following. Which he did, with a certain other companion joined unto him. Who he was, Winchester there doth not express, only he saith that it was neither Hierome, nor Garret. In this next meeting between Barnes and the bishop, upon the foresaid Sunday, the said bishop studying to instruct Barnes, uttered to him certain articles or conclusions, to the number of ten, the effect whereof here followeth.

*Winchester's Articles against Barnes.*

1. *The effect of Christ's passion hath a condition. The fulfilling of the condition diminisheth nothing the effect of Christ's passion.*

2. *They, that will enjoy the effect of Christ's passion, must fulfil the condition.*

3. *The fulfilling of the condition requireth, first, knowledge of the condition, which knowledge we have by faith.*

4. *Faith cometh of God, and this faith is a good gift. It is good and profitable to me; it is profitable to me to do well, and to exercise this faith; therefore by the gift of God, I may do well before I am justified.*

5. *Therefore, I may do well by the gift of God before I am justified, towards the attainment of justification.*

6. *There is ever as much charity towards God, as faith: and as faith increaseth, so doth charity increase.*

7. *To the attainment of justification is required faith and charity.*

8. *Every thing is to be called freely done, whereof the beginning is free and set at liberty, without any cause of provocation.*

9. *Faith must be to me the assurance of the promises of God made in Christ (if I fulfil the condition); and love must accomplish the condition whereupon followeth the attainment of the promise according to God's truth.*

10. *A man, being in deadly sin, may have grace to do the works of penance, whereby he may attain to his justification.*

These articles, for so much as they be sufficiently answered and replied unto by George Joy, in his Joinder and Rejoinder against Winchester, I shall not need to swell this work therewith, but only refer the reader to the books aforesaid, where he may see matter enough to answer to these popish articles.

I told you before how the king was contented that Barnes should resort to the house of the bishop of Winchester, to be trained and directed by the bishop: which Barnes then hearing the talk of the people, and having also conference with certain learned men, within two days after his coming to the bishop's house, waxed weary thereof, and so, coming to the bishop, signified unto him, that if he would take him as one that came to confer, he would come still, but else he would come no more, and so clean gave over the bishop.

This being known unto the king, through sinister complaints of popish sycophants; Barnes again was sent for, and convened before the king; who being grievously incensed against him, enjoined both him, Hierome, and Garret, at the solemn Easter sermons at St. Mary Spittle, openly in writing to

revoke the doctrine which they before  
At which sermon, Stephen Gardiner also  
present to hear their recantation.

First, Dr. Barnes, according to his pr  
to the king, solemnly and formally beg  
his recantation ; which done, he with m  
stance and obtestation called upon the  
asking of him forgiveness, required him  
a grant to hold up his hand, to the inte  
theré openly declaring his charity before  
the bishop also would declare his charity  
ner. Which, when the bishop refuse  
the first, as he was required, Barnes aga  
it, desiring him to shew his charity, and  
his hand. Which when he had done wit  
wagging his finger a little : then Barnes  
his sermon, after his prayer made, be  
process of a matter, preaching contr  
which before he had recanted. Insomu  
mayor, when the sermon was finished,  
the bishop of Winchester, asked him  
should from the pulpit send him to p  
forthcoming for that his bold preaching  
his recantation. The like also did H  
Garret after him.

The king had appointed before certai  
make report of the sermons. Besides  
was one, who writing to a friend of his i  
in the favour of these preachers, declar  
they had all handled the matter, both  
recantation, and also in the same serm  
out the truth, that it might spread with  
world. Wherefore, partly by these re  
partly by the negligent looking to this  
came to the lord Cromwel's hands, sai  
Barnes with his other fellows were appr  
committed to the Tower. Stephen Gar

book written against George Joy, would needs clear himself, that he was in no part nor cause of their casting into the Tower, and giveth this reason for it, that he had then no access, nor had after, so long as Cromwel's time lasted, to the king's secret counsel; yet, notwithstanding, the said Gardiner cannot persuade us to the contrary, but that his privy complaining to the king, and his secret whisperings in his friends' ears, and his other workings by his factors about the king, was a great sparkle to set their fagots on fire.

Thus then Barnes, Hierome, and Garret, being committed to the Tower after Easter, there remained till the 30th day of July, which was two days after the death of the lord Cromwel. Then ensued process against them by the king's council in parliament, to the which process Gardiner confesseth himself that he was privy amongst the rest. Whereupon, all those three good saints of God, the 30th day of July, not coming to any answer, nor yet knowing any cause of their condemnation, without any public hearing were brought together from the Tower to Smithfield, where they preparing themselves to the fire, had there at the stake diverse and sundry exhortations, among whom Dr. Barnes first began with this protestation following :

“ I am come hither to be burned as an heretic, and you shall hear my belief, whereby you shall perceive what erroneous opinions I hold. God I take to record, I never (to my knowledge) taught any erroneous doctrine, but only those things which Scripture led me unto, and that in my sermons I never maintained any error, neither moved nor gave occasion of any insurrection. Although I have been slandered to preach that our Lady was but a saffron bag, which I utterly protest before God that I never meant it, nor preached it; but all my study and

diligence hath been utterly to confound and confute all men of that doctrine, as are the anabaptists which deny that our Saviour Christ did take any flesh of the blessed virgin Mary, which sects I detest and abhor. And in this place there have been burned some of them, whom I never favoured nor maintained, but with all diligence ever more did I study to set forth the glory of God, the obedience to our sovereign lord the king, and the true and sincere religion of Christ, and now hearken to my faith.

“I believe in the holy and blessed Trinity, three persons and one God, that created and made all the world, and that this blessed Trinity sent down the second person Jesus Christ into the womb of the most blessed and purest virgin Mary. And here bear my record, that I do utterly condemn that abominable and detestable opinion of the anabaptists, which say that Christ took no flesh of the virgin. For I believe that without man’s will or power he was conceived by the Holy Ghost, and took flesh of her, and that he suffered hunger, thirst, cold, and other passions of our body, sin excepted, according to the saying of St. Peter, he was made in all things like to his brethren, except sin. And I believe that this his death and passion, was the sufficient ransom for the sin of all the world. And I believe that through his death he overcame sin, death, and hell, and that there is none other satisfaction unto the Father, but this, his death and passion only, and that no work of man did deserve any thing of God, but only his passion, as touching our justification. For I know the best work that ever I did is impure and imperfect.” And with this he cast abroad his hands, and desired God to forgive him his trespasses. “For although perchance,” said he, “you know nothing by me, yet do I confess, that my thoughts and cogitations be innumerable; wherefore I beseech thee,

O Lord, not to enter into judgment with me, according to the saying of the prophet David, Enter not into judgment with thy servant, O Lord ! And in another place, Lord, if thou straitly mark our iniquities, who is able to abide thy judgment ? Wherefore, I trust in no good work that ever I did, but only in the death of Christ. I do not doubt but through him to inherit the kingdom of heaven. Take me not here, that I speak against good works, for they are to be done, and verily they that do them not shall never come into the kingdom of God. We must do them, because they are commanded us of God, to shew and set forth our profession, not to deserve or merit, for that is only the death of Christ.

“ I believe that there is a holy church, and a company of all them that do profess Christ ; and that all that have suffered and confessed his name, are saints ; and that all they do praise and laud God in heaven, more than I, or any man’s tongue can express, and that always I have spoken reverently, and praised them, as much as Scripture willed me to do. And that our Lady, I say was a virgin immaculate and undefiled, and that she is the most pure virgin that ever God created, and a vessel elect of God, of whom Christ should be born.” Then said Master Sheriff, “ You have said well of her before.” And being afraid that Master Sheriff had been or should be grieved with any thing that he should say, he said, “ Master Sheriff, if I speak any thing that you will me not, do no more, but beckon me with your hand, and I will straightway hold my peace, for I will not be disobedient in any thing, but will obey.”

Then there was one that asked him his opinion of praying to saints. Then said he ; “ Now of saints you shall hear my opinion : I have said before somewhat I think of them, how that I believe they are in

heaven with God, and that they are worthy of all the honour, that Scripture willeth them to have. But, I say, throughout all Scripture we are not commanded to pray to any saints. Therefore I neither can nor will preach to you, that saints ought to be prayed unto; for then should I preach unto you a doctrine of mine own head. Notwithstanding, whether they pray for us or no, that I refer to God. And if saints do pray for us, then I trust to pray for you within this half hour, Master Sheriff, and for every Christian man living in the faith of Christ, and dying in the same, as a saint. Wherefore, if the dead may pray for the quick, I will surely pray for you."

"Well, have you any thing more to say?" Then spake he to Master Sheriff and said, "Have ye any articles against me for the which I am condemned?" And the sheriff answered, "No." Then said he, "Is there here any man else that knoweth wherefore I die, or that by my preaching hath taken any error? Let them now speak and I will make them answer." And no man answered. "Then," said he, "well I am condemned by the law to die, and as I understand, by an act of parliament, but wherefore I cannot tell, but belike for heresy, for we are like to burn. But they that have been the occasion of it, I pray God forgive them, as I would be forgiven myself. And Dr. Stephen, Bishop of Winchester that now is, if he have sought or wrought this my death, either by word or deed, I pray God forgive him, as heartily, as freely, as charitably, and without feigning, as ever Christ forgave them, that put him to death."

"And if any of the council, or any others have sought or wrought it through malice or ignorance, I pray God forgive their ignorance, and illuminate their eyes that they may see, and ask mercy for it. I beseech you all to pray for the king's grace, as I have done ever since I was in prison, and do now,



that God may give him prosperity, and that he may long reign among you, and after him that godly prince, Edward, may so reign, that he may finish those things that his father hath begun. I have been reported to be a preacher of sedition and disobedience unto the king's majesty; but here I say to you, that you all are bound by the commandment of God to obey your prince with all humility, and with all your heart, yea, not so much as in a look to shew yourselves disobedient unto him, and that not only for fear of the sword, but also for conscience sake before God. Yea, and I say farther, if the king should command you any thing against God's law, if it be in your power to resist him, yet may you not do it."

Then spake he to the sheriff and said, "Master Sheriff, I require you on God's behalf, to have me commended unto the King's grace, and to shew him that I require of his grace these five requests: first, that where his grace hath received into his hand all the goods and substance of the abbeyes——" Then the sheriff desired him to stop there. He answered, "Master Sheriff, I warrant you I will speak no harm, for I know it is well done that all such superstition be clean taken away, and the king's grace hath well done in taking it away. But his grace is made a whole king, and obeyed in his whole realm as a king (which neither his father nor grandfather, neither his ancestors, that reigned before him, ever had), and that through the preaching of us and such other wretches as we are, which always have applied our whole studies, and given ourselves for the setting forth of the same; and this is now our reward. Well, it maketh no matter. Now he reigneth among you; I pray God, long may he live and reign among you. Would to God, it might please his grace to bestow the said goods, or some of

them, to the comfort of his poor subjects, which surely have great need of them.

“ The second, that I desire of his grace, is, that he will see that matrimony be had in more reverence than it is; and that men, for every light cause invented, cast not off their wives, and live in adultery and fornication; and that those, that be not married should not abominably live in whoredom, following the filthy lusts of the flesh.

“ The third, that the abominable swearers may be punished and straightly looked upon; for the vengeance of God will come on them for their mischievous oaths.” Then desired he Mr. Pope to have him commended to Mr. Edgar, and to desire him for the dear blood of Jesus Christ, that he would leave that abominable swearing which he used; for surely, except he did forsake it, he would come to some mischievous end.

“ The fourth, that his grace would set forth Christ’s true religion, and seeing he hath begun, go forward and make an end; for many things have been done, but much more is to do; and that it would please his grace to look on God’s word himself, for that it hath been obscured with many traditions, invented of our own brains.”—“ Now,” said he, “ How many petitions have I spoken of?” And the people said, “ Four.”—“ Well,” said he, “ even these four are sufficient, which I desire you, that the king’s grace may be certified of, and say, that I most humbly desire him to look earnestly upon them; and that his grace take heed that he be not deceived with false preachers and teachers and evil counsel, for Christ saith, that such false prophets shall come in lamb’s skins.”

Then desired he all men to forgive him, and if he had said any evil at any time unadvisedly, whereby he had offended any man, or given any oc-

casion of evil, that they would forgive it him, and amend that evil they took of him, and to bear him witness that he detested and abhorred all evil opinions and doctrines against the word of God, and that he died in the faith of Jesus Christ, by whom he doubted not but to be saved. And with those words he desired them all to pray for him, and then he turned him about, and put off his clothes, making him ready to the fire, patiently there to take his death.

And so after prayer made by him and his two fellow martyrs, wherein most effectually they desired the Lord Jesus to be their comfort and consolation in this their affliction, and to establish them with perfect faith, constancy, and patience through the Holy Ghost, they taking themselves by the hands, and kissing one another, quietly and humbly offered themselves to the hands of the tormentors, and so took their death both christianly and constantly, with such patience as might well testify the goodness of their cause, and quiet of their conscience\*.

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\* Mention having been made in the foregoing account of Dr. Barnes's life, of a confutation of the ten articles (exhibited by Bishop Gardiner against Barnes) by George Joy, a learned, pious, and laborious reformer, in the reign of Henry VIII. the editors deem this a proper opportunity to introduce that confutation, from a very scarce tract, published by George Joy, and printed at Wesil, in Cleveland, A. D. 1543.

I chanced upon certain articles, entitled to the Bishop of Winchester, called "Stephen Gardiner," which were written against Dr. Barnes and his two followers, burnt 1541, for preaching, *only faith to justify*. By these his articles, Winchester would prove that works must justify, that is to say, with our works we must merit the remission of our sins. Which doctrine, as it is contrary to God's word, so is it injurious to Christ's blood. Whose godly name is *one* alone, for all sufficient; even that same precious hid treasure in the Gospel, in whom (saith Paul) are all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge hidden. For in him dwelleth the most perfect fulness of God verily; and in him are we complete even perfectly justified, without any interweaving

of Winchester's works. This thing do I tell you (saith Paul), lest any man (as now would Winchester) deceive you with his apparent popish persuasions. This full justification, by only faith, Paul expresseth clearly in these words also: "This our everlasting living priest and intercessor, Christ, abideth for ever unto this end, even absolutely, fully, and perfectly, without any lack or breach, to save all them, that through him by faith come to God the Father." Here are we taught, Christ to have an everlasting priesthood, to save perfectly and sufficiently through our faith only, and that he ever liveth unto this same end. Wherefore, for the defence of our so plenteous and perfect redemption, and for the rich favour and mercy of our heavenly Father, and free forgiveness in Christ's passion, through our faith only, and that the glory of his grace, whereby he hath made us his dearly beloved chosen children, through his beloved Son, should be praised, by whom we have redemption through his blood, even the remission of sins, according to the riches of his so plenteous grace, unable to be diminished; to defend this my Lord God's glory (I say) and to warn the simple unlearned, that they be not deceived by such blasphemous bishop's articles, I shall by God's help justly by his word clearly confute them, although he yet teach and preach them unto his own damnation, and deceiving of as many as believe him.

In Paul's time there strayed about a certain idle sort and sect of heretics, called Nazareans, the most subtle kind of men in painting and persuading their false doctrine. These heretics troubled and perverted the churches, well instituted of the apostles, especially the Galatians, Antiocheans, and Romans, against whose heresies Paul did write, so mightily and earnestly confuting them. These pharisees laboured in the same heresy in which Winchester now teacheth and writeth, mixing the observance of the law with the grace of the Gospel, even works with faith, to justify. These Nazareans confessed Christ to be God and man, that he died, rose again, &c.; but unto him only, through our faith, they attributed not all our whole justification, but part thereof (as now doth Winchester) to the works of the law, as unto our own merits; and part to his passion, making Christ a Saviour by halves. But "is Christ divided?" saith Paul. These heretics descended out of the faction of the pharisees, as now do our justiciaries, out of the Pelagians, whose righteousness (saith Christ) except ours excel more abundantly, we shall never come to heaven. These Nazareans were Jews born, but in name they would be called Christians, and yet nothing holding the benefit of the grace by Christ, confounding the law with the Gospel, merits mixed with grace, free forgiveness with deserving by works, contending no man to be saved by Christ, except he, being circumcised, kept the law of Moses. Against whom Paul with 10

great labour, far otherwise instituted his churches, preaching and writing constantly our sins to be known and shewed us by the law, and not thereby to be taken away; and only the grace of faith through Christ to justify all nations. Happy it was, that those heretics sprung up in his days, whose epistles we have yet, so mightily and clearly confuting and pressing down these heresies, now crept up again by Winchester.

The chief article of the Christian religion, upon the which all others are stayed and grounded, is, that in Christ Jesu, is all sufficiency and perfection of forgiveness of sins and salvation, "of whose fulness we receive grace for grace," as saith John; wherefore, as many as be justified, are justified by only faith in him, and by nothing else, as by any subsidiary attainment (as Winchester would have his helping will-works) unto this full justification in Christ, the perfection of the law. This is the sum of the whole Gospel. This is the stating of the cause, the argument, and material of all Paul's epistles, even the tread-sole or ground-sole, whereupon, as the door is turned and returned, so are all his arguments and process thereupon treated and retreated, and especially in his epistles to the Romans, Galatians, and Hebrews. And now since this bishop stirreth up afresh these old heresies, we can have no better armour and arguments than Paul made against him; first warning us of such seditious sect-sowers, saying: "There are many runners abroad of whom I warned you often, but now with weeping tears I warn you again, even of the enemies of Christ's cross, whose end is damnation, whose belly is their God, and their glory shall end with shame, whose care and study is set upon earthly things." I cannot marvel enough at this bishop, fighting so earnestly for good works to justify, that he doth none himself, but to persecute Christ's church so cruelly, imprison piteously, and destroy the poor innocent lambs of God, Christ's own body. I pass over his luciferian pride, ambition, arrogance, vicious living, &c. above Nero, Julian, Herod, or any soft Sardanapalus. Belike, he believeth not his own articles, for if he did, he would do better works for his own justification. The fruit of Paul's faith, being once a pharisee of Winchester's opinion, was the persecution of Christ's church above measure, as himself testifieth; and as all like pharisees have ever done, and do it still unto this day; God convert them once, as he did Paul. So be it.

We, therefore, with Paul and Christ, affirm, our only one alone Saviour Christ, for his own merits, and our faith unto him, through the favour of his Father appeased in him, to justify: that is, to absolve us from our sins and to give us life eternal. This, our only Saviour, we preach and write to be the only righteousness, wisdom, holy-maker, redemption, and satisfaction, sufficient for all them that believe in him. And if there be any,

that think Christ's righteousness, his satisfaction, redemption, made for us of his Father, not a sufficient and forgiveness of their sins, but that they own works, checkmate with his passion and redemption unto the attainment of this effect of Christ's let them couple and wrap in their own works too for atonement, and then, in so doing, shall they procure the atonement. For all our good works or "righteousness are right filthy and nought," and so much the worse for that they be set in so high a place, equal with God which is a plain blasphemy. These unrighteous righteousness would serve two contrary masters at once, the pope the Gospel and the pope's laws: but while they thus sides with Baal's priests, they serve truly the devil, no concord with Christ; neither shall there any papist believe them, for in conclusion you shall see they are justified neither by works nor faith, but damned for the sake of no man believing nor loving them, by their wickedness procuring themselves the hatred of all men. Now to

*Winchester's first Article.*

1. *The effect of Christ's passion had a condition. That the condition diminisheth nothing the effect of Christ's*

*Joy.*—God is the light, and will not be taught in confused terms. Isaiah prophesied of Christ, that when he come, he should not be dark and difficult, or hard to be understood. Now speakest thou plainly (said his disciples). He rejoiced greatly, that he had so sincerely and freely preached the Gospel. Christ told his, that they should be the light of the world purely and clearly to teach, especially the chief of the Christian religion of which the Psalmist said, "and clear are thy words, O Lord; they illumine our understanding to the little ones." But, and if God's word be hard and dark, our own sluggishness, negligence, is the cause thereof: if it be dark, it is dark to them that stand in the light. If it be unsavoury, it is so to them that love the light. It is hard rules to them which are so wise conceits that they disdain to learn of any man, as the scribes, hearers, and understanders, which heard Christ stood him not, being so blind at noon day (the Gospel come) that they stagger and reel in the clear light, like the crowns of proud Ephraim and Moab. Belike, they were ashamed of the plain simple words of Christ's Gospel, went and common words, forgiveness of sins, faith, and goeth about to cover them with his condition

fillings, and confused knowledges. The Scriptures know no other effect and condition, but remission of sins upon this condition, that we believe Christ to have died for us, and to have risen again for our justification. "Thou shalt call his name Jesus (said the angel to Mary), for he shall save his people from their sins." (Mat. i.) Therefore was Christ lifted up on the cross that as many as believe in him should be saved. Every man may see that Winchester intendeth some juggling cast with his confused condition, which he dare not express, calling it works, speaking plainly; "*the effect of Christ's passion hath works, whose fulfilling, &c.*" But play on yet in God's name, Winchester.

*Winchester's second Article.*

2. *They that will enjoy the effect of Christ's passion, must fulfil the condition.*

*Joy.*—Yet will you not express your condition? Well, then will I express it for you; for I know your mind is to prove, works to justify. This is Winchester's article: *they that will enjoy the forgiveness of sins must do good works.* And so he intendeth, as ye shall see anon, after his wise deduction, to conclude his foolish conclusion. But play on, Winchester, in God's name, above the board.

*Winchester's third Article.*

3. *The fulfilling of the condition requireth first knowledge of the condition, which knowledge we have by faith.*

*Joy.*—Ah! good faith, where hast thou been all this while? Hath this juggler kept thee thus long in his bag under the board? Thou hast tarried all too long; for Winchester will be justified by his condition, ere thou comest. Here might I ask Winchester, whether works (which are his condition) are before faith, or faith before his works? By his process, works go before faith, and so must his works be sin and displeasure to God. "For whatsoever is not of faith (saith Paul) is sin." And, "without faith it is impossible to please God." If faith goeth before works, then must faith only justify, or else it is no faith, as I shall now prove by Paul, which giving to faith her essential definition, joineth it immediately and essentially unto things invisible assured to us by hope, saying; "faith is a substantial assured persuasion of things hoped for with a sure hope and confidence, even the certainty of things invisible." God invisible so entirely joineth himself to faith, that in the faithful he dwelleth, and they in him: faith therefore always inseparably is joined to God's mercy, his grace, remission of sins, to salvation and life eternal through Christ,

which all are invisible things hoped for. But Winchester, dreaming us forth his new feigned faith, coupleth her to an external knowledge, of what manner of a visible fulfilling I cannot tell you, nor yet what a fond confused condition, not yet of himself expressed. Join thou thy faith to an outward visible bodily thing, and so is it neither faith nor hope: "blessed are they that believe and see not." Now, must Winchester prove his condition with the fulfilling and knowledge thereof to be things invisible, hoped for, as eternal life, &c. ; or else his faith shall not be that which Paul defineth, and Christ so often mentioneth in his Gospel.

*Winchester's fourth Article.*

4. *This faith cometh of God, this faith is a good gift ; it is good and profitable to me. It is profitable to me to do well and to exercise this faith.*

*Joy.*—This faith, so far off flitted from the invisible justification, whether it be the gift of God and profitable to Winchester, I doubt it: but this am I sure of by Christ's own words, that when Winchester hath done all that God hath commanded him (which I dare say he shall never do, and so never fulfil his condition), yet is he but a servant (if he be not a lord) unprofitable. I would ask Winchester, when he looketh and considereth first, the effect of Christ's passion, whether he believed it or no? If he did not believe, so was he then an infidel. If he believed it (seeing it is the promised forgiveness of sins in Christ's blood) whether believed he it to be efficacious to himself, or only to other men? If to others and not to himself, so is his faith and the devil's faith all one. If he believed his own sins to be forgiven thereby, so was he justified by faith only, ere any other condition was known, or spoken of, or else he must make Christ a liar, which saith, "As thou believest, so come it to thee." When Jairus desired Christ to come and help his daughter, and in Christ's coming, Jairus his servant met him, saying, "Trouble Christ our master no farther, for your daughter is dead." What said Christ? Said he not to him, "Fear not? Believe only, and she shall be safe." These same words (*only believe*) stand both in Mark and Luke. What condition else, than faith only in Christ's promise, can Winchester find to enjoy the effect of Christ's passion? Christ (all conditions else set aside), only faith mentioned, said, "Thy faith hath saved thee." What condition else than faith, did Christ require of the child's father, praying him to cast the evil spirit out of his son? Added he any thing else than faith, saying, "If thou canst believe, all things are possible to the believer?" Away, Winchester, with your confused cumberous condition; fond fulfillings and your crafty knowledge; and abuse not the precious gift of faith to serve your



sinful affections, to prove your blasphemous conclusion. But yet, perchance, Winchester will answer to my former question, that when he beholdeth the forgiveness of his sins in Christ's passion, he seeth also therewith his condition. Well, be it so, then ask I him, whether the forgiveness of his sins there be holden, and himself hearing Christ calling and crying, "Come unto me, Winchester, laden with sins, and I shall ease thee," whether (I say) is it more profitable for him by faith to take hold of the forgiveness of his sins now offered him by Christ, that cannot lie; or to tarry and send him word, that he will first know and fulfil his condition? A wise man would think it most profitable to take hold first by faith upon his justification, freely now offered him, and to take the thing certain and present, rather than, so precious a gift neglected, to labour in an uncertain condition. For if his condition be the works of the law (as he will not deny it) which it is impossible for any flesh to fulfil, as Paul affirmeth, and all our best works are infected with Adam's birth-poison stained like the sick woman's clothes as Isaiah saith; and if Winchester (I say) tarry till he hath fulfilled his condition, he shall come too short of his justification in Christ. For ere he beginneth to fulfil the condition, he is disobedient to Christ's calling, and refuseth the forgiveness of his sins, of which unfaithful disobedience, whatsoever deed followeth, it is sin, yea, and that a grievous sin, as Samuel exaggerateth it unto king Saul, albeit he did it (as they say) of a good intent. Now say on yet again, Winchester.

*Winchester's fourth Article.*

4. *Therefore, by the gift of God, I may do well, before I am justified.*

*Joy.*—Yea, marry, this is the conclusion I waited for: lo! now hath he concluded of himself, that he may do well before he be justified. This, his well doing, standeth upon the fulfilling of his condition, where ye see he hath his faith and his works, and yet is he not justified, therefore in that same time before he is justified, is he not justified by faith, nor by his works, where ye see plainly unto what confusion he bringeth himself, and what it is to reason by his own wit, without any word of Scripture. Would God, the papists had no wiser divines to defend their false religion: seldom are these popish lawyers, good divines. He saith, he may do well; and I say, he may do evil too. It becometh a learned man so to confer the Scriptures truly understood, that he be sure and certain of his conclusion. But perchance, he take this word, *may*, for the merry month of May next to April, and then am I content to tarry, till May come again, for the verifying of his conclusion; waiting for his well doing, for hitherto

(God knoweth) he hath done much evil. The Lord amend him before May, or else take him shortly away. Amen. Because Winchester hath no Scripture to prove his conclusion, I will help him; but yet I commend Standish against Dr. Barnes, for he laid on Scripture written and unwritten, Englished and Unenglished, as thick as hail, and understood not one word of what he said. even the very doctors are painted of Paul to have erred from the true faith and love, and are swerved unto vain lies, which would be seen doctors of the law, and, yet understand they not what they say, nor of what thing they affirm. But to Winchester's conclusion. Thou knowest, good reader, that in Scripture there is mentioned a dead faith, and a feigned or false faith. And also there is a righteousness of the law, or our righteousness; and also a like justification, one of faith before God, and another of works, before men. When Paul had mightily proved, only faith to have justified before God, the Jew not being content with this conclusion, objected, saying; "What then shall we say of our father Abraham? Got he no justification by his works?" He was a good father and did many good deeds. It is truth, saith Paul, "But yet hath he not to rejoice thereof before God, but only before men." Now let us set up my Lord Gardiner in his velvets and satins, aloft upon his mule trapped with velvet, with golden stirrups and bridle, &c. with his gentlemen bare-headed, and chained with gold before and after him; who will not say but there rideth a princely prelate, a glorious bishop to adorn and honour a whole realm? See, what a cleanly sort of tall men he hath about him, what costly liveries giveth he, what a many of idle bellies daily feedeth he? Hath not Winchester, lo! whereof to glory before men? Is not this a joyly justification? Now followeth his conclusion of himself, saying, "Therefore by the gift of God, that is by these worldly gifts, I may do well before worldly men of fleshly judgment, before I be justified before God, yet justified gloriously (in which I rejoice) before men." This is his Jewish justification, whereof the pharisees so highly rejoiced, insomuch that Christ told them that he came not to call such just men, but sinners to repentance, warning the people that except their righteousness abounded above the pharisees' good deeds, they should never come to heaven. And Paul saith, "That men ignorant of the righteousness or righteousness-making of God, and seeking to hold fast (as now doth Winchester) their own righteousness, they are never subject to the righteousness of God." Winchester yet knoweth not the office of the law to shew us our sins, to work wrath, to make sin the more to abound, as Paul proveth to the Romans, so far off must it be to justify. Neither yet knoweth he the office and proper place of faith, nor yet what thing faith is, but conceiveth a certain fantastical opinion thereof, as doth every speculative pharisee

and idle hypocrite. And a man should speak after the very order of nature and of the time; he must needs set faith before works, as is the tree before it bloometh, and the blossoms before the fruit. The seed is cast into the earth before it groweth and justifieth. The seed is the word of God, saith Christ, and nigh unto this is the word of faith, even in thine heart and mouth. "Faith is effectual and worketh by love. And the end of the precept is love out of a pure heart (by faith hearts are made pure, saith Peter) and a good conscience and of faith unfeigned." I think, Winchester is not so ignorant in his grammar as to English this text of Paul, "*fides quæ operatur per dilectionem*," (faith which worketh by love,) as did John Fisher, the Bishop of Rochester, in his sermon at Paul's cross which was afterward printed, thus Englishing it, "faith which is wrought by charity," so setting the cart before the horse, and like an ungodly gardener to pervert and turn the roots of his plants and herbs upward, of which I heard as it were an old prophecy forty years ago, that such an Antichrist should come to pervert the justification of faith, and turn Christ's religion upside down. I am sure he will not set works before faith, no, not in the young baptized infants, nor yet in Paul at his conversion, nor in the thief hanging by Christ crucified. It is truth, that works, being the fruits of faith, standing in their own place, proceeding out of justifying faith, diminish not the effect of Christ's passion. "For we are made in Christ Jesu to do the good works which God hath prepared that we should walk in them." "We are saved freely by faith," saith Paul, "yea, and that not of works, for it is the gift of God, that we are saved by faith, and not for our works, lest any man should rejoice in his own deeds." But if Winchester put his works in the place and office of faith, as the condition without the which no man is justified, so diminisheth he, yea, he is injurious and blasphemous unto the effect of Christ's passion, for by this doctrine his diminute, imperfect, and wicked works should deserve us forgiveness of sins, as though Christ's blood and so plenteous a redemption in Christ were not sufficient. "If by the law (saith Paul) men be made righteous, so is Christ dead in vain." Love must fulfil the condition (saith he), therefore, the works of the law are his condition. (Rom. xiii.) Now let us see, what love God asketh of us, for if we have not that love, we shall never fulfil Winchester's condition. God commandeth us to love him with our whole hearts, minds, souls, and with all our strength; and our neighbours, yea, and our enemies too, as ourselves; yea, and that even as Christ loved us, which died for us, being his enemies. He biddeth us to be perfect and holy as himself is, not to be so angry with our brother, as to provoke him with any evil word to anger, nor to desire any other man's goods, servant, wife, &c. no, not to love our own lives in his cause, but to hate

our flesh and die for his sake. Now tell me, Winchester, if any one man hath this love, and so fulfilled your condition? Or else dare yourself affirm to have fulfilled it? If you have not, therefore by your own words you shall never enjoy the effect of Christ's passion (and yet speak I not of the perfect faith and hope that every man in God is bound to have): beware therefore, Winchester, how you set your salvation upon so hard a condition, lest you come too short of the gates-shutting, with your five foolish virgins. If you had once fulfilled (as you never shall) your condition, and, so persevering, you need not to pray, "Father, forgive me my debts," nor ever to say your *Paternoster* (Lord's prayer). For you owe no love, neither unto God nor man, you have paid all. And yet saith Paul, "Owe ye nothing to any man, but mutual love;" shewing love to be a debt ever in paying and never full paid. We shall "answer for every idle word," saith Christ. But if Winchester had accomplished his condition, so might he go play and juggle in judgment with Christ for his salvation, having no need of Christ's passion, then might he claim heaven of duty, and make grace no grace, which is a mere free gift undeserved of any man; and thus were he one of those just prelates, whom Christ said, he came not to call. Is not he a proud fool, to whom, when God giveth a free justification in Christ, yet will he refuse to take it, but upon a condition, that he deserve it with such works, as himself is never able to perform? What arrogant fool would thus condition-himself against God's will? Peter, considering this important condition, said, "By faith God purifieth their hearts, and wherefore then do ye now tempt God so much, laying such a yoke upon men's necks, which neither our fathers nor we are able to bear? By the grace of our Lord Jesu Christ we believe us to be saved, as were our fathers." "If we should say that we have no sin in us, so are we liars." Wherefore, the Scriptures conclude every man to be a sinner and infidel, that of all men God might have mercy. And that the promise, out of faith in Jesu Christ, should be given to the believers. Only Christ fulfilled the law.

And if Winchester would work out Paul, saying, that when he concluded so oft, man to be freely justified by faith only without the works of the law; that he meant by the works of the law, but circumcision and the other ceremonies now abrogated, and not the law of the commandments: then let him hear Paul expounding himself, of what law he meant, answering to such objections. "By the law (saith he) cometh the knowledge of sin, and I had not known concupiscence to have been sin, had not the law said; Thou shalt not have any concupiscence or lust." And then when he wrote his epistles, circumcision and the rites and ceremonies were abrogated among the Christian Jews, and the Gentiles never were bound to them; as was Abraham justified by

faith only, ere the law was written and before he was circumcised. And Peter said, that this same law which Paul excludeth from justification, and Winchester calleth his condition, is a yoke importable, which proveth it not to be circumcision, nor any of their ceremonies of Moses' law; for these were light enough to bear, lighter and easier than to not lust or desire any thing against God's will; or for a rich man to forsake all and give it to the poor, or for Winchester to cast off his pride, his bishopric, with all his vain glory, and to become the humble poor pure persecuted preacher of God's word. It is read, that there was one man that by suffering, doing, and fulfilling the law of the Commandments, came to heaven, even Christ only. In Matthew we read of another young man, that would go to heaven by doing some good works, asking Christ, "Good Master, what deeds shall I do, to have life eternal?" Whose mind Christ seeing, did set him but certain of the easiest Commandments to fulfil them. "And he said, As for these I have done them already." Well then, said Christ, or rather so thought, if ye will needs go to heaven by doing, I shall set you to do such deeds, as I know well you will never do; yea, they be impossible for you to do them, even to sell his substance and to give it to the poor, and so to follow him now going forth to Jerusalem to suffer death. What did this man, I pray you? How far went he with Christ think you? Went he not his way heavily from Christ? And yet will Winchester go to heaven, by doing and fulfilling his hard condition; I dare say, he would scratch his head twice (as did this rich man) ere he sold his bishopric, and had given it to the poor. And therefore Christ pronounced, that it is impossible for such rich men to come to heaven. God therefore trusted us so little with the fulfilling of the law, and so by this condition to come to heaven, that he took it out of our hands, and laid it upon his son Christ to be fulfilled. For if he had left our salvation in our own hands, to be deserved by our works, we had been all damned. Yet say on, Winchester, once again.

*Winchester's fifth Article.*

5. *Therefore, I may do well by the gift of God, before I am justified, towards the attainment of justification.*

*Joy.*—Now declareth he, by his well doing for the attainment of his justification, to be justified by works. Here is his condition declared to be works. Here he sheweth himself to be arrogantly bolder than David, or just Job, which both feared their works, and desired God not to enter "into judgment with them, for then should there no man be justified in his sight;" and again, saith David, "Lord, if thou shouldst observe our iniquities, who shall stand before thee in judgment uncondemned?" But Winchester

may do well in the month of *May* before men, ere he be justified before God: and so rejoice of his own joyly justification, riding upon his horse or mule. He would feign here wrap in his works with his faith both together into one bed, to warm and win his justification, that he might be sure by both together (for the more the better) to be justified (*sed pallium ambos operire non potest*, saith Isaiah, xxviii.); but "the coverlet is too narrow and too short to cover them both;" one of them, therefore, is like to lie bare and cold. For God, to whom we are married by faith and mercy, is a jealous God, and will not that any of his spouses should lie with another, to divide their faith from him to works, to be justified by them, nor to separate forgiveness of sins from his blood. Is Christ divided? And therefore, if this justiciary, by his fancied well doing before he be justified toward the attainment thereof, so proceed toward his intent; he may be (as the friars and monks were wont to say) in the way of perdition; perfection I would say; but unto the very justification shall he never come. Such are even "men of a corrupt mind, carried away of divers lusts, ever learning and never coming unto the knowledge of the truth: for such deceivers shall go forth, worse and worse," till their wickedness be ripe, leading others into errors, themselves being blind and far out of the way, turned unto vain speech and false doctrine; willing to be seen doctors, and yet understand they not what they say, nor of what things they make acts, articles, and institutions. But play on yet once again, Winchester.

*Winchester's sixth Article.*

6. *There is ever as much charity toward God, as faith, and as faith increaseth, so doth charity increase.*

*Joy.*—This is truth, neither ought it to be impugned, if he take faith and charity, as Paul taketh them. There must needs some truth be mixed with lies, that he might the more slyly deceive, and some sugar mingled with his venom, that he might the more privily poison. What then, Winchester?

*Winchester's seventh Article.*

7. *To the attainment of justification, is required faith and charity.*

*Joy.*—Faith only (saith Christ and also Paul) is required to the attainment of the justification which is of God; neither is charity excluded from faith, but from the efficacy, effect, and office to justify. For to this effect and office is faith alone sufficient effectuously. As from fire, or from the sun, we exclude not heat nor brightness, but yet have heat and brightness their sundry ef-

fects and offices : for the heat warmeth, and with his brightness the sun shineth, and giveth light. Charity hath many fair effects and offices attributed only unto herself, as proper ; and is highly commended for them, as is faith extolled of Paul for her offices, in the Hebrews. And I dare say, charity is content with her own works, called benign, patient, &c. so that she desireth not to put her elder sister, faith, out of her chief office, nor yet to usurp any part thereof, whose office principal is alone to justify : but and if Winchester will defraud faith of her effect, and impart it unto charity, he shall offend both charity and faith. This is certain, that if charity had had any such an excellent effect and office as to justify ; Paul would not have omitted it, but would have given her the glory thereof, setting it forth before all, saying, charity justifieth, charity is benign, patient, &c. I would Winchester would once shew us, where he findeth this text in Scripture ; charity justifieth. It is written in many places, faith justifieth, by faith God testified our fathers to be justified, yea, and that without the works of the law. " Freely doubtless are men justified by grace (saith Paul) through the ransom and redemption made by the anointed Saviour, whom God the Father hath set forth, to be the free merciful gift or seat of mercy, thereupon to be appeased through faith in his blood ; set forth (I say) to declare himself faithful and true" of his promise concerning the forgiveness of sins, hitherto committed and past ; which sins God the Father had not anon punished, but patiently suffered them to declare his long suffering, and himself to be true of his promise at this present time, when himself would be known and declared faithful and just in that he justifieth whosoever believeth and liveth in Jesus by faith. Where is then now thy glorious boasting, oh Winchester ? It is plainly excluded and shut out of doors. By what reason ? By the reason and virtue of works ? No, no, but by the reason of faith. " We conclude therefore (saith Paul) that by faith a man is justified without the works of the law." Lo ! here is all gloriation of works blown down, laid flat in the dust by the reason and power of faith ; for as faith humbleth, and giveth all glory to God, so do works puff up man, and ascribe glory unto man. If the effect of Christ's passion should depend on the condition of our works, we should never be sure and certain of our justification, for all our works are imperfect and foul, as the sick woman's clothes. (Is. xxx.) Paul himself did his office so truly, that his conscience could not accuse him of any fault, and yet he said, " Yet for so doing, am I not justified,"

*Winchester's eighth Article.*

8. *Every thing is to be called freely done, whereof free and at liberty, without any cause of pro*

*Joy.*—So is there nothing freely done. For n human, natural affections, as love, hatred, fear, gladness, concupiscence, hunger, thirst, &c.; b having any celestial gifts, as faith, hope, &c. provoked of them to do or to suffer all things. B the Spirit, conceived by faith, whereof Christ a affirming by faith himself to be free, and by love to all men, is of an higher divinity than this P courtly ruffler can attain unto. Go on, Winches

*Winchester's ninth Article.*

9. *Faith must be to me the assurance of the promises Christ (if I fulfil the condition), and love must condition, whereupon followeth the attainment of cording to God's truth.*

*Joy.*—Yet dare not he express his condition, faith assureth me of the promise of God (if I fulfil Winchester, nor none else, but only Christ fulfil therefore, neither Winchester nor any else, stand condition, shall ever be assured of the promise of God another way, excluding the condition, that mensurer and the more certain of the promise. For should stand of an uncertain, yea, impossible condition be certain and assured of the promise? Thus argue the works of the law came not the promise to Abraham, seed, him to be the heir of the world, but by the faith. For if they, that will be justified by the works, fore made the heirs; so is faith and belief in vain, miserie void and frustrate. For the law worketh but fore, it worketh no good works to the attainment. It worketh wrath, for that it is impossible to be accomplished of man, which is flesh, as Paul concludes and therefore it wrappeth all the workers thereof thereby under the curse. For as many as stand under of the law to this end, even for their justification under execration, and tied to the curse. (Gal. ii. is no law, there is no transgression. Wherefore concludes against Winchester, saying) out of faith given, like as out of grace, "that the promise might firm, and surer unto all the seed, not to it, that is law, but also to it, which is out of the faith of Abraham



in spirit did see before this Winchester's condition to frustrate the promise, and therefore he confuteth it here so clearly. And again unto the Galatians, if any would object saying, "Therefore the law is against the promises. God forbid, saith Paul, but if there had been a law given which might have given life, then no doubt justification might have come by the law. But the Scripture concluded all under sin that the promise, the promise (I say) out of the faith of Jesus Christ should be given (and not deserved) to the believers." Thus ye see, how with so many words Paul excludeth Winchester's impossible condition, to make fast the promise in Christ, that our faith might be the surer stayed, and cleave to it. If only unbelief damneth, why should not only faith justify? It is a good argument of contrary. But yet, because Winchester windeth in his condition so hard, for the attainment of his justification by works; I would fain see some one of his good works so perfect, pure, without any carnal affection annexed, either of vain glory, or of love to himself, or for fear of pain not done, nor for hope of reward, or any lucre and promotion, or to receive a better thing for the doing thereof; out of so pure a heart, that it be not done of any affection to the person, but only of faith and zeal for the glory of God and profit of his neighbour, or only to mortify his own affections, and to set nought by himself; to deny and renounce his estimation and glory, to be renewed in spirit and to follow Christ meekly to death. Paul acknowledgeth himself, and complaineth in his most perfection, not to be able to do that good which he would do, but to do that evil which he would not do. He durst not call in this condition to attain his justification thereby, but constantly affirmed, that as many as stand upon the works of the law to fulfil them, thereby to be justified; are yoked unto the curse of the law, saying; "Cursed is every man that abideth not in all things, written in the book of the law, to perform them." I wonder therefore that Winchester dare stand upon his condition to be fulfilled, to attain any part of his justification thereby. Dare he claim (think ye) any part of his justification for burning of Dr. Barnes and his fellows, for preaching against these weakly armed articles? Tell us, Winchester, didst thou burn them so cruelly of love, and not of hatred or envy? Truly love burneth no man for preaching the truth; "Charity envieth not," &c. Come back, Satan, after Christ; thou art slanderous to his cross, for being married to thine own wit, thou savourest not the heavenly and godly justification, but such an one as natural reason persuadeth among men, even one good turn for another to be done, and so to deserve thy justification. But be it in case, that Winchester, thus conditioning with God, hath in his own opinion done some good deed, whereby he dare claim his justification, yet shall not that same deed serve him to the attainment of that effect. For were it never so good,

yet doth his false opinion in his deed make it dam us speak of a good deed absolutely, excluded from fections (if any man may do such one); this deed but the deed of God, working it in us, for what doth proceedeth out of our corrupt nature, is naught. "I Paul, "that worketh in you, according to his good will well, and also to perform your work." Ne apt and able to think so much as a good thought of ourselves, but all our ableness cometh from God." And "Lord, set peace among us, for it is thou that worketh all things in us," both our thoughts and deeds. well said Austin; "God crowneth in us his own ours." Condition not therefore, Winchester, with deeds, which (as all men see them) are but many envy, rancour, bitterness, blood-thirsting, pride, blasphemies, persecution of Christ's innocent land word, deceitfully flattering your prince, evil do provokes the wrath of God upon you all, and upon realm, sowing most pestilent heresies, yea, and which is the sin against the Holy Ghost, which will they right grievous) shall be forgiven, yet shall this impiety be never forgiven.

You say that, "*faith is the assurance of the promise of sins.*" If faith be that same certitude and assu- sion as Paul saith, assuring you of your justification add you your uncertain condition, wavering upon works, which as they be unstable, imperfect, and they never make you a quiet and tranquil conscience of your justification, God so saying; thou hast multitude of thine own ways, and yet thoughtest thou enough. Add no condition on your behalf therefore (chester), unto your own condemnation. Christ need to believe upon a condition, but said simply and plainly and thou art saved." Add not to God's word lest ye be for a liar. Winchester told Martin Bucer, that he not receive the doctors, as Winchester would. Austin, Hierome, Origen, and many other are against himself; but let us see, whether he will be doctor, Saint Ambrose, thus writing upon the First Corinthians, saying, "This thing is constituted whoso believe in Christ he is saved, without any faith, freely receiving the remission of his sins." spoken more plainly? Now make an end, Winchester, conclude your arrogant articles.

*Winchester's tenth Article.*

10. *A man being in deadly sin, may have grace to do the works of penance, whereby he may attain to his justification.*

*Joy.*—And I say the contrary. That a man being in deadly sin may have no grace to do the works of penance, as I fear me, it will be verified of Winchester himself. But the Lord convert him once, so that all men may see his open fruits of repentance, for his grievous persecution of Christ's members; and hear him openly with tears recanting his false doctrine, whereby he hath seduced many a simple soul. This is, lo! his doctrine, a man must do the works of penance, before he be justified, and so, by such works, merit and deserve his justification and forgiveness of sins. Here thou seest, Christian reader, that such a man hath no need of Christ's death, but for such men (saith Paul) "Christ is dead in vain."

Thus, ye see the conclusion of his articles to be, that he may do well, before he be justified. But (as I said before) it behoveth a learned divine to conclude, what ought to be done, and what God willeth to be believed by his manifest word, and not what Winchester may do by his own blind reasoning, without God's word. He may do well by the gift of God (saith he), which is faith; therefore, his faith goeth before his well doing and his justification; and his good works must be thrust betwixt both (if the place be not too narrow for them); so that he, having his faith and his good works, is not as yet justified, neither by his faith nor by his good works, for they must serve him but toward the attainment of his justification. Paul and Christ joined faith and justification ever inseparably together; but this schismatic, Jewish Jeroboam, and devilish divider of all Christian unity, will thrust his good works betwixt them, not suffering faith to cleave to immediately her own object, even the mercy of God, promising remission of sins in Christ's death. He would thrust in here the works of penance, before justification, which thing, how foolish it is, ye shall see. First, ye know, that penance must go before her works, as is the tree before her fruits. "Penance is a turning to God, whereby of the sincere fear of God, a man humbled, acknowledgeth his sin, and so all his whole life he maketh new. Who turneth to God, but he who first believeth and knoweth God for Christ's sake, to be so merciful unto him that at his turning to him he receiveth him and forgiveth him his sins? Which faith and knowledge, what else is it than his justification; God the Father so affirming it in his prophet Isaiah? saying, "In the knowledge of him, this; even my servant, shall justify many." Here ye see, that this knowledge and faith justifieth before the works of penance are done. For God is known

in Christ ere we turn to him, from the which turning to God there follow the fruits of repentance in doing them all our life long, as, to fear God, to humble ourselves, to confess our sins to him, and to renew our lives, mortifying continually our flesh.

Now, let us see the order of our justification before God, according to the Scriptures. First (saith Paul), we are chosen of God in Christ before the foundation of the world was laid, and when we be born anew of the Spirit, we are called to receive faith: which gift of faith certifieth us of our election, giving us the knowledge of God the Father, in and by Christ. Which knowledge, as nothing can be said more briefly, so is there nothing more excellent, sweeter, more full and perfect, wholesomer, more comfortable and joyous. For when I know God the Father in Christ by the Holy Ghost, I know these three Persons to be the only one God, the most high goodness, having his being of himself, and all other creatures to have their being, life, and moving of him; even that One alone, my very living God, for me and for all sufficient, merciful, benign, loving, almighty to me, my deliverer, defender, and keeper; long suffering, just, true, my present Saviour and forgiver of my sins, giving me freely, for Christ's sake, eternal life and beatitude. In this knowledge of my celestial Father am I firmly persuaded, Christ Jesu his only Son, both God and man, to be sent for my sake into this world, to be that anointed Messias, king, and priest; to be my governor, deliverer, avenger, defender; my head, my redeemer by his passion, my mediator, my cleansing sacrifice once for me and for all faithful, for ever offered up on the cross; my only intercessor now into heaven ascended, my holiness, mine expiation, my righteousness, health, way, life, and satisfaction, satisfying my Father's justice for my sins never to be imputed to me, for my only faith's sake, daily justifying and absolving me, continually renewing me with his holy Spirit, anointing me with the grace of the Holy Ghost: so that now I, by his mercy and grace, being in Christ his elect, might walk daily in good works, pleasing my celestial Father. Unto this knowledge and belief he calleth all his chosen: "For whom he hath foreseen, predestined, and chosen, them hath he called by his word and creation of this world unto this faith and knowledge;" and, "whom he thus called, the same hath justified, and whom he hath justified, them hath he glorified." Thus we, elect, called, and born again of the Spirit, know the Father in Christ, and we know Christ by the Father, which knowledge and faith draweth us to love God and to keep his precepts gladly. Thus to know the Father in Christ, and Christ in him, is life eternal. Out of this plenteous knowledge, justifying us as Isaiah saith, springeth repentance: for here the sinner prayeth God to convert him, saying with Jeremiah, "Lord convert me and I shall be converted, for thou,

Lord, art my God, wherefore as soon as thou shalt convert me I shall repent me; and anon as thou makest me to know my sins, I shall smite my hand upon my thigh." Now tell us, Winchester, who is the author of repentance? Or is repentance before faith justifying, or no? There is no man, having this knowledge and faith in God through Christ, but he will anon with the publican fall down, smiting his hand upon his breast, saying, "Lord, have mercy upon me a sinner." In this knowledge we see our sins buried in Christ's wounds, and no more in the stony tables, for anger cast by that most mild Moses against the ground and quite broken. We feel them by our faith forgiven in Christ's death, and ourselves justified by his resurrection, our hearts set at peace and rest with God in Christ dead for our sins, and risen again for our justification. Which merciful goodness, whoso beholdeth in Christ crucified, he cannot but of love unto God in Christ lament and be heavy in heart, that ever he should commit such grievous sins, which could not be forgiven without the bloodshedding of that most innocent and immaculate lamb, suffering for his enemies; which love as it is unspeakable, so is it incomparable. "A man (saith Paul) will scarce die willingly, when he must needs and justly die, but perchance will put himself in peril of death," for his goods to be saved, or the mother to save her child, &c. "But God, he commendeth his love toward us, in that when we were sinners, Christ would die for us; much more, therefore, now we being justified in his blood, shall be preserved by him from wrath." What faithful heart, touched with this incomparable love out of faith and knowledge, is not humbled with fear and confession of his sins to God, and is not heavy and repentant, detesting his sins, saying, "Shall I any more commit that thing which hath brought this my so loving a Saviour to so shameful and painful a passion?" This is our faith, which cleaveth to the most certain promise of God, and not to Winchester's wavering, unstable condition. This is our faith and substantial certitude, the most firm persuasion, without any wavering of the merciful free forgiveness, and gracious absolution of our sins by the promise of our Father celestial in Christ's blood: and hath her own proper co-relative, the promise of God ever correspondent, and not Winchester's knowledge of the fulfilling of this condition. This is the form of our justification by faith only, which attributeth all glory to God, as did Abraham and his children, and as many, as have unfeignedly received Christ's Gospel. But let Winchester work on still his wicked works, unto the attainment of his pharisaical justification before men, until, the ax now bent unto his roots, he be suddenly smitten down of God. For Pashur must be turned, as Jeremiah saith, into fear; his arrogant upclimbing and extolling of himself above God must have a shameful, sudden, fearful fall. These arrogant articles may be well called the false articles of Winchester's false

faith, and not of Christ's faith. For Christ confirmed his articles evermore with the law and prophets: but Winchester bringeth not one word of God for him, to prove his. Wherefore, let them be his own articles, armed with his own proud authority. For we may not believe him, thus exalting himself above Christ, which ever alleged the Scriptures for his doctrine to be confirmed: we may not believe my lord vicar general for his high, lordly, supercilious, pharisaical looks. Wherefore, if this Gardiner will seem to be learned, let him answer now with God's word, and not dispute with poor men in his fetters and prisons, with his furnish threats and fiery fagots; imprisoning and persecuting the poor innocent members of Christ for well doing, purely, freely, and faithfully preaching God's word; casting of his blood-hounds into every city and town to hunt out the Christian, simple flock of Christ: as he of late made William Castelyn, governor of the merchant adventurers at Antwerp, chiefly to hunt out such, as purely and freely write and set forth books unto the glory of God, edifying of Christ's church, and to warn men of Winchester's false doctrine. For this governor of other men, which could never well govern himself, is more meet to row in a galley, or to hold the plough, than to govern so worshipful and honest a company. But the Lord is alive and heareth of these Moabites' pride and blood-thirsting; he seeth their secret wicked counsels, and heareth their boasting, proud cracks; "their supercilious arrogance is well known unto me, saith the Lord:" but yet for all their luciferian pride, promoting and extolling themselves and one another, to serve their traitorous turns and mutual mischief, yet shall they never bring about their wicked enforcements. For it is God that deposeth such mighty mischievous ones from their seats and exalteth the humble. It is the Lord that scattereth their wicked counsels, and entrappeth them in their own pride and bloody cogitations. But let all Christian kings and princes beware, how they give their sword into such popish prelates hands, lest the innocent blood be required of God at their hands, to whom be praise for ever. Amen.

Truth it is, that he, which knoweth neither the Father nor Christ, shall never believe Christ to be an whole, perfect, and sufficient Saviour and forgiver of sins, but he shall wind in this crooked condition of Winchester, and divide his justification, part (if he give not all) to works, and part to God; as did the Jews and now the Turks, and such like heathen miscreants which never knew God the Father in and by Christ. Yea, they shall devise and imagine in their own opinions (for true faith have they none) such works for God's honour, as themselves think to make most for a great king's honour; as, to be accompanied with many men and fetched in with many torches and candles, at noon day lighted to Him, which is the very light itself. These blind worshippers

will make God an image thereby to worship him, which idolatry the second commandment utterly forbiddeth. They will worship him with gold, pearl, precious stones, velvet, cloth of gold, &c. They sing and ring him in with bells, as they were wont to do the bishops. They pipe him up with organs, and all the costly, pleasant, external rites, and ceremonies, and processions that can be devised for to please great men: they use the same to worship God withal; whereas Christ said, "God my Father is a spirit, and in spirit and truth will he be worshipped." Yea, these worldly, wicked, blind bishops are so far cast away, and for their wickedness turned up of God unto their own hearts lusts, and unto a reprobate, damned mind, that they know not God from man mortal. Oh! good God, what mind may this be? Verily, Paul expresseth it, and the cause why God worthily thus casteth them up: saying, whatsoever men ought to know of God, the same hath God shewed them, as his almighty power and godhead: yea, and that by the creation and creatures of the world; if they would diligently and humbly look upon and expend them, so that they be without excuse of any ignorance. But when God had given Winchester this knowledge of him, yet he worshipped not and glorified him not as God, but as he would worship any other worldly prince with outward rites and ceremonies: neither doth he give him thanks, but sheweth his own vain curiosity and curious vanity in his own reasoning and disputing for God's most glorious honour; insomuch that he hath now blinded his own ignorant heart, and wherein he thought to have done most wisely for God's worship and glory, there doth he most foolishly and cruelly, shewing himself a very fool (as Paul saith), turning up the worship of God incorruptible, through his own imaginations, to worship him after his own fond devices. And for this cause hath God thus cast him up, through his own heart's lusts, unto all manner of prodigious and beastly filthiness, receiving unto himself the worthy reward of his own error. And for because (saith Paul) he doth set at nought so present knowledge of God, now opened unto him and to all others, that will embrace Christ and his word; therefore doth God turn him up unto this detestable opinion of his own false justification, and into so loathsome and abominable, reprobate, bloody mind, that in imprisoning, persecuting, fagoting, burning, and slaying the true professors and preachers of God's holy word, he shall (as Christ saith) seem to himself and such like to do God high worship, and by the fulfilling of such wicked works, even his own condition, to attain to his own justification before the devil, the prince of this world, his antichristian pope of Rome, cardinals, priests, &c. whose vicar general worthily and justly he yet playeth up and down. And all this (saith Christ) shall this vicar general do to you, because he knoweth neither my Father nor me. This is that reprobate mind

unto which this Gardiner is now turned up of God, which damned mind he declareth, saying: "Woe be to them that say that thing to be evil which they know to be good, and that to be good which they know to be evil." The Lord preserve his church from such a vicar general. Christ keep every diocese from such a bishop. The Holy Ghost teach all Christian princes to beware of such a counsellor.

So be it.

George Joy, the author of the foregoing tract, was a native of the county of Bedford, and educated at Peterhouse in Cambridge, where having prosecuted his studies with great success he was admitted fellow in the year 1517. As he was one who "drew the heavenly doctrine of Christ from the most pure fountains of the Gospels, he sustained many afflictions and difficulties from Cardinal Wolsey, Bishop Fisher, Sir Thomas More, and other ministers of papal Antichrist." He was accused of heresy in letters written to the bishop of Lincoln, in whose diocese he had a benefice, by John Ashwel, prior of Newnham in Bedfordshire, and thereby fell into trouble along with Bilney, afterwards a martyr. He was most warmly "addicted to the cause of the Reformation," and was at length compelled to take refuge in Germany, where he wrote many treatises in defence of Protestant truth, and translated several portions of the holy Scriptures into the English tongue. He returned at length into England, and having lived as a faithful "asserter of Christian truth," he died A.D. 1553. Fuller in his "Worthies" (art. Bedfordshire), says; "The particulars of his sufferings, if known, would justly advance him into the reputation of a confessor." "Notwithstanding many machinations against his life, he found his coffin where he fetched his cradle, being peaceably buried in his native country."

*The above and further particulars concerning this Reformer's life and writings may be found by consulting Bishop Bale, Catalog. Script. illustri. Brittan.—Bishop Tanner, Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica—Lewis's Complete History of the several Translations of the Holy Bible into English—and a Tract extant in the Bodleian library at Oxford, containing the Letters of Prior Ashwel, with Joy's Replies and Observations.*



## A TREATISE ON

## JUSTIFICATION,

ENTITLED, " ONLY FAITH JUSTIFIETH BEFORE GOD."

*This Tract is an Appendix to a Supplication unto the Most Gracious Prince, King Henry VIII. by ROBERT BARNES, D. D. and begins at Page 226 of his Works, Ed. 1573.*

Now, if your Grace do not take upon you, to hear the disputation and the probation of this article, out of the ground of the holy Scripture, my Lords, the Bishops will condemn it, afore they read it, as their manner is to do with all things, that please them not, and which they understand not: and then cry they, " Heresy, heresy, an heretic, an heretic, he ought not to be heard, for his matters be condemned by the church, and by his holy fathers, and by all long customs, and by all manner of laws."

Unto whom, with your Grace's favour, I make this answer: I would know of them, if all these things, that they have reckoned, can overcome Christ, and his holy word, or set the Holy Ghost to school? And if they cannot, why should not I then be heard, that do require it in the name of Christ? and also bring for me his holy word, and the holy fathers, which have understood God's word, as I do? Therefore, though they will not hear me, yet must they needs hear them. In holy Scripture, Christ is nothing else, but a Saviour, a Redeemer, a Justifier, and a perfect Peace-maker between God and man. This testimony did the angel give of him in these words, " He shall save his people from their sins:" And also St. Paul, " Christ is made our righteous-

ness, our satisfaction, and our redemption." Moreover, the Prophet witnesseth the same, saying ; " For the wretchedness of my people, have I stricken him," so that here have we Christ with his properties.

Now, if we will truly confess Christ, then must we grant with our hearts, that Christ is all our justice, all our redemption, all our wisdom, all our holiness, all alone the purchase of grace, alone the peace-maker between God and man. Briefly, all goodness that we have, that it is of him, by him, and for his sake only. And that we have need of nothing towards our salvation, but of him only, and we desire no other salvation, nor no other satisfaction, nor any help of any other creature, either heavenly or earthly, but of him only ; for as St. Peter saith, " there is no other name given unto men, wherein they must be saved." And also St. Paul saith ; " By him are all that believe justified from all things." Moreover, St. John witnesseth the same, in these words ; " He it is, that hath obtained grace for our sins." And in another place ; " He sent his Son to make agreement for our sins."

Now, my lords, here have you Christ, and his very nature full and whole. And he that denieth any thing, or any part of these things, or taketh any part of them, and applieth them, or giveth the glory of them to any other person, than to Christ only, the same man robbeth Christ of his honour, and denieth Christ, and is very Antichrist. Wherefore, my lords, first what say you to this, and unto the properties of Christ ? If you grant them, then are we at a point. For they prove that faith in Jesus Christ only justifieth afore God. Secondly, if you deny it (as I am sure you will, for you had liever deny your creed, than grant it), how can you then avoid, but that you be the very Antichrist of whom St. John speaketh ? For now have we tried your spirits,

that they be not of God; for you deny Christ, that is, you deny the very nature and property of Christ. You grant the name; but you deny the virtue. You grant, that he descended from heaven; but you deny the profit thereof. For he descended for our health, this deny you; and yet it is your creed. You grant, that he was born; but you deny the purpose. You grant, that he was risen from death; but you deny the profit thereof, for he rose to justify us. You grant, that he is a Saviour; but you deny that he is alone the Saviour. I pray you, wherefore was he born? to justify us in part, to redeem us in part; to do satisfaction for part of our sins? so that we must set a pair of old shoes, a lump of bread and cheese, or a lousy gray coat to make satisfaction, for the other part? Say what you will, if you give not all, and fully, and alone to one Christ, then deny you Christ, and the Holy Ghost. And St. John doth declare you to be contrary to Christ. This may also be proved by a plain Scripture of the Holy Ghost, which is this; "No man in heaven, nor in earth, neither under the earth, was able to open the book, or to look on the book, till the Lamb came, unto whom the seniors spake, on this manner, "Thou art worthy to take the book, and to open the seals thereof, for thou wast killed, and hast redeemed us by thy blood."

How say you to this, my lords? In heaven was there none found, neither by the angels, nor yet by the seniors, worthy to open the book, but Christ only. And will you find, that they could not find? will you set an helper to Christ, whom they set alone? but I pray you tell us what he shall be. All the world knoweth, that they be good works. But now, from whence come your good works? whether from heaven? or out of the earth? or from under the earth? If they were in any of these places, where were they when the angels, and the seniors sought

them? have you found them, whom they could not find? but let this pass. I pray you, what will you lay for your good works? or by what title will you bring them in, to join them with the Lamb in opening of the book? the seniors have laid for them, that the Lamb only was worthy to open the book, because he was slain, and redeemed them with his precious blood. Now, what cause lay you for your good works? the Lamb hath alone died for us, the Lamb hath only shed his blood for us? the Lamb hath only redeemed us; these things hath he done alone; now, if these be sufficient, then hath he alone made satisfaction, and is alone worthy to be our redeemer and justifier.

Moreover, they that be in heaven confess, that this Lamb is alone worthy to redeem them. Be your works better than theirs? or can your works help them? if they can, then is not the Lamb only worthy to redeem them. Moreover, the seniors fall down before the Lamb, giving him alone praise. And shall your good works stand up by the Lamb? then are they better than the seniors. But let us prove this thing by open Scriptures. St. Paul took so great labours to prove this article, as he never took in any other; and all because he would make it plain, and stop the mouths of the gainsayers. But all this will not help them, that have not the Spirit of God. Nevertheless, we will by God's favour, do the best we can to confound the crooked enemies of Christ's blood, and though we cannot make them his friends, yet at the least we will so handle them, that they shall be ashamed openly so to speak against him, as they have done long time, and so will we handle them (by God's help) that all the world shall know, that they glory in Christ's name, and by him are they also so high promoted in this world, that they can-

not be higher. And yet deserve they of Christ, worst of all men.

But let us go to our purpose. St. Paul saith; "All men are sinners and want the glory of God, but they are justified freely by his grace, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus." What is this, that all men have sinned, yea, and are justified freely? how shall a sinner do good works? how can he deserve to be justified? what call you freely? if there be any deservings less or more, then it is not freely. What call you by his grace? if it be any part of works, then it is not of grace. For as St. Paul saith, "then grace were not grace." Here can be no evasion; the words are so plain. If you bring in any help of works, then for so much is not our redemption freely, nor yet is it of grace, as concerning the part that cometh of works, but partly of works, and then do you destroy all St. Paul and his whole disputation. For he contendeth against works, and clearly excludeth works in justification, and bringeth in grace only. Now, that that is excluded in the whole by contention, cannot be brought in, in part to the cause. This is open in his words, where he saith: "Where is now thy rejoicing? it is excluded. By what law? by the law of works? nay but by the law of faith. We do judge therefore, that a man is justified by faith, without the works of the law." Hear you not, that the gloriation of works is excluded? and yet will you boast your works? hear you not plainly St. Paul's sentence, that judgeth clearly with faith, and against all works? how can this be avoided?

Is it not clear? what can be answered to it? is not this Paul's proposition, that he took to prove, faith only justifieth? it were but lost labour for Paul to prove, that works did help to justification, for that the Jews did grant, and required no more, but that

works might not be clearly excluded. They were christened, and content to receive Christ for their Saviour, but not only, and alone. This was the contention. In so much that they gloried against the Gentiles, which had no manner of works, and for that despised them, as people unworthy to be justified.

But peradventure, here will be said, that Paul condemneth the works of the old law, but not the works of the new law. Are you now satisfied in your conscience? think you, that you have well solved St. Paul's argument? Think you, that this is sufficient to avoid St. Paul, that he hath taken so great labour to prove this cause? think you, that you shall be thus discharged afore God? if you do, then go boldly into the straight judgment of God with this evasion, and doubt you not but there you shall find St. Paul, as stiffly and as strongly against you, and your new works, as ever he was against the Jews, and their old works: and if he did condemn the works of the law, that were instituted by the mouth of God, and the best works that ever were, think you that those works that you have invented, shall be there allowed?

Briefly, what works can you do, or excogitate (that are good) which are not in the old law, and of the old law? therefore he speaketh of all manner of works, for the law includeth all works that ever God instituted. The highest, and the best, and most of perfection of all works are, the works of the ten commandments. And these are the works of the old law, and cannot justify, after your own sayings. Now, what works have you of the new law, other than these? or better than these? our master Christ sheweth, that in fulfilling two of these commandments, are all works included. What works then are of the new law, that were not commanded in the old? Peradven-

ture, you will say : All those works that Christ speaketh of in the fifth of Matthew are of the new law, and not of the old. For Christ saith, I say unto you : " He that calleth his brother fool, or that looketh on a woman to desire her, and such like, doth offend." These seem to be works of Christ, and not of Moses. Therefore, there are works of the new law, that were not commanded in the old, and against them disputeth not St. Paul, say ye.

To this I answer, that our master Christ doth there reprove the false interpretation, that the scribes and pharisees did set to the law, but he teacheth no new works, nor is no giver of any new law. For St. John saith, " The law is given through Moses, but grace and verity came by Jesus Christ." He is the giver of grace and mercy, as all the prophets testify, and not another Moses. And therefore to purchase us favour, he died on the cross, and so did not Moses : but he commandeth us to do this, and do that. But Christ saith, Hang thou on my doing, and believe thou, that I have done for thee ; for thee, and not for me.

Now, to our purpose, Christ, I say, doth interpret, and declare the old law against the scribes and pharisees, which learned, that the law was fulfilled and content with outward works, and that was their justification. This false doctrine doth our master Christ reprove ; and saith, that the law doth require a pure and clean heart, and will have his works fulfilled out of the heart, and not alone with hand, and feet, and tooth, and nail, as the pharisees say, and teach. So that our master Christ teacheth no new works, but alone expresseth the virtue of the old law. And thus do holy doctors declare this fifth chapter of Matthew, and especially St. Austin. Wherefore, out of that place cannot be proved, that there are certain

works of the new law, that were never commanded in the old.

Moreover, look in the old law, whether these things be forbidden, or commanded, and you shall find that the words of the law, and Christ's exposition do agree. So, that our master teacheth no new thing, nor yet any new works. But now grant, that there are certain works of the new law, which are not of the old. Yet have you not, nor cannot prove that these shall justify. For there can be no goodness in works, than were in works of the old law, for they were to God's honour, and to the profit of our neighbour. What goodness can works have more? and yet you grant that they cannot justify. How then shall your new works justify? Blessed St. Paul disputeth against them that were christened, and had both works of the old law, and also of the new. And yet concludeth he, that Christ alone was their justifier. Mark his argument, "If righteousness cometh of the law, then is Christ dead in vain:" as he would say: if the law help to justify (for that was the opinion of the Jews) then is not Christ alone your justifier. If he be not your justifier alone, then is he dead in vain. How will St. Paul prove this consequence? on this manner: either Christ doth this thing alone, or else he is dead in vain, for he will have no helper. This must needs be the meaning of his argument there.

Now, will I take this argument of St. Paul, and likewise dispute against your new works. If new works do help to justify, then is Christ dead in vain. But Christ is not dead in vain. Therefore, new works do not help to justify. The first part is Paul's. The second you grant. Therefore, the third must needs follow. But let us see how St. Paul proveth this proposition by an example, not of the old law, as though he disputed alone against the works of the



old law, but by that holy and excellent patriarch Abraham, whom no manner of works could justify, but faith only. Think you that St. Paul doth speak here of the works of the old law? nay, doubtless. For how could Abraham do the works of law, and there was no law given till 430 years after? Wherefore, St. Paul constraineth you to conclude, that no manner of good works (though they are so good as Abraham's works) can help to justification.

Note also St. Paul's argument. Abraham was justified so many years, before the law was given. Therefore saith he, the law doth not justify. So likewise, dispute I against your new works. Men were sufficiently, and perfectly justified alone by faith, afore any new works were given, or preached. Therefore, the works of the new law do not justify of necessity. The antecedent I prove thus; Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and John Baptist, and all the holy prophets were perfectly justified, afore any new works (as you take new works) were spoken of. Therefore, men were sufficiently justified, alone by faith. If St. Paul's argument conclude, so must mine also. Wherefore say what you can, here standeth holy St. Paul stiffly and strongly for me, and against you, and saith; "that we be freely, and alone justified by faith, without all manner of works." But let us see what St. Ambrose saith to this text. "They are justified freely, for they do nothing, nor nothing deserving, alone by faith are justified by the gift of God, &c." Hear you not, that men working nothing at all, nor nothing deserving, are justified by faith only? yea and freely? you were wont to cry for, "only, only, only." Here have you him, and to help him have also *gratis*, that is to say, *freely*; and also, *done Dei*, the gift of God, and *nihil operantes*, that is as much as working nothing at all. If these words do not exclude works, and allow faith only, I cannot

tell what words will do it ; grant these words, and I will be content.

I will also bring you Origen on the same text, whose words are these ; “ Paul saith, that the justification of faith is only sufficient—So that if a man do believe only, he is justified, though there be no works done of him at all. By faith was the thief justified, without the works of the law. For our Lord did not ask him, what he had done ; nor did look for any works of him, but did accept him all only, for confessing of Christ.” It followeth. “ Wherefore a man is justified by faith, unto whom as concerning justification the works of the law help nothing, &c.” What say you to Origen, that saith how men be justified, though they do no good works at all, for works do help nothing to justification, but faith only ? are not these plain words ? grant these words, and we will ask no more of you. Here have you also, “ alone, alone, alone.” So that you need cry no more for “ alone.” Also Origen bringeth an open example of the thief, that no man can deny. Who can have less good works than a thief ? which is neither good before God nor man. So that all the world may see, that this is no new opinion, seeing that the Scripture, and also holy doctors do teach it. Also St. Paul in the ixth chapter bringeth in the gentile, which knoweth nothing of God, nor hath done any good works, but contrary blasphemed God and his name, and hath always lived in idolatry, and been an utter enemy unto all goodness.

He bringeth in also the Jew, full of good works of the law, which hath also great zeal unto God, and to his works, yea, and of that Paul beareth him witness. Briefly, he bringeth in for him such a Jew, that no man can complain of, but is full of good works. Yea, take all the best of the Jews together (for it were madness of Paul to speak of the damn-

able Jews, that were open wretches and damned by the judgment of the law), with all their good works, and yet St. Paul doth exclude them, and repelleth them clearly from justification, with all their good zeal, and with all their good works, and concludeth with plain words, that the gentile, which is full of damnable works, and had neither zeal, nor love unto goodness, is justified by faith only.

These are St. Paul's words : " We say that the gentiles, which follow not righteousness have obtained righteousness. I mean the righteousness, which cometh of faith. But Israel, which followeth the law of righteousness, could not attain unto righteousness. Wherefore ? because he sought it not by faith, but as it were by the works of the law." Are not these plain words ? that the gentiles, which followed no righteousness nor had any mind thereto, are justified freely by faith ? is not here, *Sola fides*, only faith ? moreover, the Jew is reproved with all his zeal, with all his love, with all his study, and with all his good works. Is not this a marvellous thing ? yes verily, and so marvellous, that you shall never understand it, without you believe. But peradventure, here shall be said, that the good works of the Jews did not profit them, because they had no faith : but if they had had faith, then would they have holpen to their justification.

To this I make answer, truth it is, good works did not profit the Jews, for lack of faith. But this is false, that works should have holpen to justification, if they had had faith. For St. Paul proveth clearly, that good works help nothing to justification, nor evil works let not the justification, that cometh by faith. And this he proved by the example of the gentile, which had no good works, but all damnable works, and yet is justified by faith. Moreover, the Jew had the zeal of God, and all manner of good works with all things that the world can devise ;

yea, and also St. Paul speaketh of the Jews, they were christened, and all this could not help. Wherefore, no manner of works, whether they are in faith, or out of faith, can help to justify. Nevertheless, works have their glory, and reward. But the glory and praise of justification belongeth to Christ only. Also, St. Paul proveth plainly in these words, that works have no place in justification; "To him that worketh is the reward not given of favour, but of duty: to him that worketh not, but believeth on him, that justifieth the wicked man, is faith counted for righteousness."

How think you by these words? are they not openly against all works? saith he not, that justification is imputed unto him that worketh not, but alone believeth in him that justifieth the wicked man? I pray you what good works doth the wicked man? mark also how he saith, that righteousness is imputed unto him. Therefore, it is not deserved. For that that is deserved, is not imputed of favour, but it must be given of duty. How think you? is not this, *Sola fides*, only faith? you know that there are but works, and faith that do justify? and St. Paul excludeth works clearly. Therefore, faith alone remaineth. But peradventure, you will say, that works with faith do justify. Nevertheless, of meekness, and lowliness, and avoiding of all boast of goodness, you will give all the glory to faith, as unto the principal thing, and without the which, no works can help.

Notwithstanding works are good, and help to justification, though of meekness you will not know it. Is not this damnable hypocrisy? yea, and that with God? which were intolerable, if it were with men. But how can you prove by Scripture, that works are worthy of any glory of justification? Is not this open lying on faith, to give all to him, and yet (as you

say) he is not worthy of all? for works are worthy of part. If faith be not worthy alone, confess it openly, and give works his praise, and faith her praise, and say not one thing with your mouth, and think another in your heart. For God searcheth the privacies of hearts. Who hath required of you such a meekness? but I pray you, how can works help to justification, less, or more? when they be neither done, nor yet thought of? who is justified, but a wicked man, which thinketh nothing of good works? But these meek lies deserve none answer. Wherefore, let us hear what holy doctors say, on this text: "To him that worketh not, &c."

St. Ambrose saith on this manner; "It was so decreed of God, that after the law, the grace of God should require unto salvation alone faith." Which thing he proveth by the example of the prophet, saying; "Blessed is that man to whom God doth impute justification, without works." He saith, that "they are blessed, of whom God hath determined without labour, without all manner of observation, alone by faith, that they shall be justified before God. Blessed are they whose sins be forgiven. Clearly they are blessed, unto whom without labour, or without any work, their iniquities are remitted, and their sins are covered, and no manner of works required of them, but alone that they should believe, &c."

Are not these words plain? God hath decreed, that he shall require nothing to justification but faith: and he is blessed, to whom God imputeth justification, without all manner of works, without all manner of observations. Also their sins are covered, and no manner of works of penance read of them, but alone to believe. Here have you, *Sola fides* and *Tantum fides*, and here can you not say, that St. Ambrose speaketh alone of works of the law, but of all manner of works, of all manner of observations, yea

and also of penance. Peradventure it will be said, as a great doctor said once to me, that St. Ambrose did understand it of young children, that were newly baptized: them their faith should save alone, without works. How think you? is not this a likely answer for a great doctor of divinity? for a great Duns man? for so great a preacher? are not St. Paul and St. Ambrose well avoided? and clerkly? but I made him this answer, that this epistle was written of St. Paul to the Romans, which were men, and not children, and also the words of Scripture speak of the man, and not of the child. And St. Ambrose saith, "Blessed is that man."

But at this answer, he was not a little moved, and sware, by the blessed God, let Ambrose and Austin say what they will, he would never believe, but that works did help to justification. This was a lordly word of a prelate, and of a pillar of Christ's church. But what meddling is with such mad men. But yet peradventure, you will say, how that I take a piece of the doctor, as much as maketh for my purpose. Notwithstanding he saith otherwise in another place, which I do not bring. What is that to me? yet is not my doctor thus avoided. For you cannot deny, but this is his saying, and upon this place of Scripture, and this doth agree with Scripture, or else he doth expound Scripture, evil. Wherefore, you must answer to the saying of the doctor in this place, for this is the place that is laid against you, and this the place, whereby other places must be expounded. And if you dare deny him in this place, then will I deny him in all other places, by that same authority: then are the holy doctors clearly gone. Nevertheless, holy Scripture standeth openly against you, which if you deny, then have I a cause to suspect you. Wherefore, take heed what you do. But yet peradventure will ye say, that I understand not

St. Ambrose, nor holy doctors, as my lord of Rochester said, how I understood not Tertullian; he had none other evasion to save his honour with. But this is not enough, so to say, but you must prove it, and other men must judge it between you and me.

Here have I translated a great many of their sayings into English, let other men judge, whether I understand them or not. Go ye to the Latin and let us see what other sense you can take out. But, my lords, remember that our God is alive, whose cause we defend, afore whom I dare well say, you are already confounded in your conscience; wherefore doubt you not, but that terrible vengeance hangeth over you, if you repent not, which when it cometh, cometh sharply. How are ye able to defend a thing, that you cannot prove openly by holy Scripture? say what you will, your conscience will murmur and grudge, and will never be satisfied with men's dreams, nor yet with tyranny. Think you that your laws, and your inventions can be a sufficient rule for Christian men to live by? and to save their conscience thereby? think you that your cause is sufficiently proved, when you have compelled poor men by violence to grant it? then may we destroy all Scripture, and receive alone your tyranny.

But, my lords, this matter is not righted by your judgment, but by our master Christ, and his blessed word, afore whose straight judgment you shall be judged, and that straightly. For when all your grace, all your honour, all your dignity, all your pomp and pride; briefly, all that your hearts do now rejoice in, shall lie in the dust, then shall you be called to a straight reckoning: it is no light game, nor child's play. Mark it well, for it lieth on your neck. But what needeth me to lose many words, for if you are half so full of grace as you say you are of good works, then will you reckon it better

than I can move you. But again to our purpose. St. Paul proveth the justification of faith only, in these words ; “ No man is justified by the works of the law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ, and we do believe in Jesus Christ, that we may be justified by the faith of Christ, and not by the works of the law.”

Mark, how he saith, that no man is justified by the works of the law, no not St. Peter : how think you ? doth not St. Paul exclude works, and bringeth in alone faith ? yea, and that the works of the law, which were the best works in the world, and he believed to be justified only by the faith of Jesus Christ and not by works, and that proveth he in these words of the prophet ; “ a righteous man liveth by faith.” Hear you not, how a righteous man liveth by faith ? what call you living by faith ? if he live any part by works, then liveth he not by faith, but partly by works. Then is St. Paul’s probation imperfect. But let us see how your doctors do expound this text.

Now, doth he plainly shew, that faith alone hath the virtue in him to justify, and bringeth Habakkuk saying ; “ Of faith (and not of the law) shall a righteous man live.” He addeth well, afore God, for afore man, peradventure, they shall be reckoned righteous, that stick to the law, but not afore God, &c. Here have you *Sola*, only. And also that this holy justification is afore God, and after his judgment, and not after men’s judgments. Wherefore, glory as much as you can of your good works. They cannot alone justify you, but also they are of no value, but damnable and very sin, if there be no faith. So far are they from helping to justification. This doth St. Austin witness in these words, “ Those same works that are done afore faith, though they seem unto men laudable, yet are they but vain, and I do judge them, as great strength, and as swift running out of the



way. Wherefore, let no man count his good works before faith : where faith is not, there is no good work , the intention maketh a good work, but faith doth guide the intention, &c." Here St. Austin condemneth all your good works afore faith, and saith that they are nothing worth, but vain, and things out of the way. How can such things help to justification ?

Mark also, how that your good intention (whereupon you boast, that you do so many good works by) cannot help you, for he is blind, and knoweth not what to do (though he stand well in his own conceit) without faith, which is his guide. So that all things afore faith, are but very blindness. But as soon as faith cometh, he doth both justify, and also maketh the works good, which were afore sin. But let us see what St. Barnard saith of good works. "I do abhor (saith he) whatsoever thing is of me. Except peradventure that that be mine, which God hath made me. By grace hath he justified me freely, and by that hath delivered me from the bondage of sin. Thou hast not chosen me (saith Christ), but I have chosen thee, nor I found any merits in thee, that might move me to choose thee, but I prevented all thy merits. Wherefore, thus by faith have I married thee unto me, and not by the works of the law, I have married thee also in justice, but not in the justice of the law ; but in the justice which is of faith. Now this remaineth, that thou dost judge a right judgment between thee and me, give thou judgment, wherein that I have married thee, where it is open, that thy merits did not come between, but my pleasure and will, &c." St. Barnard doth despise all his good works and taketh him only to grace, but you stick partly to your good works, and not only to grace, Had St. Barnard no good works to stick to ? mark that. St. Barnard is God's child, freely by grace, which cannot be, if works do help less or more.

Was he not a christened man? had he no works of the new law, as you call them? I think, yes. And yet he saith, that there was no merits, nor any goodness, but that we were freely chosen. Wherefore, he provoketh you, and all such as you be, to judge righteously between God and you, the which hath prevented all your goodness, and that of his own will, and of his own pleasure. How can he find any goodness, that preventeth all goodness? so that here have you clearly, that good works of the law, or moral good works (as you feign) do nothing help to justification afore God, for they are prevented of justification.

This is also well proved by St. Austin, saying, "Wherefore, these things considered, and declared after the strength, that it hath pleased God to give us, we do gather, that a man cannot be justified, by the precepts of good living, that is, not by the law of works, but by the law of faith, not by the letter, but by the spirit, not by the merits of works, but by free grace, &c." Hear you this? not by merits of works, but by free grace? what call you, "free grace," but, without all things, saving grace? what call you, "not of works," but that works help nothing? For if works did help, then would he not say, "not of works," but not of works only, but part of works, and part of faith; but he excludeth works, fully and only. Again, the same thing, that purchaseth us remission of our sins, doth also purchase justification. For justification is nothing but remission of sins. Now faith purchaseth us remission, therefore, by faith we are justified.

Now, that faith doth purchase remission of sins, it is well proved by this article of our faith, *Credo remissionem peccatorum*, "I believe remission of sins." Now if I have not this remission for faith, then faith deceiveth me, for I do believe only, because I would have remission of sins. What needeth me to believe

remission of sins, if I may deserve it by works? also our master Christ declareth openly, that no manner of works, whatsoever they be, can justify afore God. These are his words; "When you have done all things, that are commanded you, yet say, that we are unprofitable servants;" if you be unprofitable, then are you not justified. And if you cannot be justified, when you have done all things, how will you be justified, when you do in a manner nothing? and especially of those things, that are commanded you; wherefore this is plain, that our works cannot help us to justification. For when we have done all things, yet we are unprofitable. But let us prove this by an open example. I put this case, my lords (unto you I speak), that our noble prince would call you all before him, and say, "My lords, so it is, that it hath pleased us to call you unto the spiritual dignity of bishops, and to make you of our council, and lords of our realm, and also of our parliament. Now, would we know of you which of you all hath deserved it, or reckoned himself worthy by his deserving, less or more of this dignity?" What will you say to this? what will you answer to the King's grace? is there one among you all, that dare be so bold as to say to the King's grace, that he hath not given it unto him freely, but that he hath done the King so faithful service, that he was bound to give it unto him? yea, and that of his deserving? if there were one that were so proud, as to say this, think you that the King's grace would not lay to his charge, how that he had not done half his duty, but were rather bound, to do ten times as much more, and yet the King's grace were not bound to give him a bishopric, for he had done but his duty, and not all that.

Now, if your good works, and all your faithful service, be not able to deserve a bishopric of the King's grace, how will you be able by your works, to deserve heaven, and justification before the King of

all Kings? when you have answered to this, before the King's grace, then come and dispute with God, the justification of your works, and yet they shall be far unlike. Wherefore, I conclude of these Scriptures, and of these doctors, that the faith, that we have in Christ Jesus, and his blessed blood, doth only, and sufficiently justify us before God without the help of any works.

And though that all Scripture be nothing else, but a whole probation of this article (that is alone a perfect commendation, and a praise of Christ, and his blessed merits, that he hath deserved for us), yet will I pass over to bring in any more places. For they that are not content with these Scriptures, will not be satisfied, nor yet content to give alone glory to God, though I brought in all the New Testament. Yea Christ himself could not satisfy them, if he were here, no nor yet though heaven, and earth and all creatures therein, were nothing else, but probations of this article, it would not help. Wherefore, I let such infidels pass, and leave them to the judgment of God, alone certifying them of this one thing, that is infallible, how the day shall come, that it shall repent them, yea, and that sorer than I can either write, or think, that they did not believe the least prick of this holy article. But unto our purpose. The very true way of justification is this. First cometh God, for the love of Christ Jesus, alone of his mere mercy, and giveth us freely the gift of faith, whereby we do believe God, and his holy word, and stick fast unto the promises of God, and believe, that though heaven, and earth, and all that is in them should perish, and come to nought, yet God shall be found true in his promises: for this faith sake, are we the elect children of God.

This is not such a faith, as men dream, when they believe that there is one God, and believe that he is

eternal; believe also that he made the world of nought, yea, and believe that the Gospel is true, and all things that God speaketh must be true, and fulfilled, with other such things. This I say, is not the faith that we be justified by, for devils and infidels have this faith, and also we may attain to these things by strength of reason: but the faith that shall justify us, must be of another manner of strength, for it must come from heaven, and not from the strength of reason. It must also make me believe, that God, the maker of heaven and earth, is not alone Father, but also my Father: yea, and that through the favour, that Christ hath purchased me, from the which favour, 'neither heaven, nor earth, tribulation, nor persecution, death, nor hell, can divide me. But to this stick I fast, that he is not alone my Father, but also a merciful Father, yea, and that unto me merciful, and so merciful, that he will not impute my sins unto me, though they are never so great, so long as I hang on the blessed blood of Christ Jesus, and sin not of malice, but of frailty, and of no pleasure.

He is also a liberal father, yea, and that unto me liberal which will not alone promise me all things, but also give them me, whether they be necessary to the body or to the soul. He is also not alone liberal, but mighty to perform all things, that he promiseth unto me. Briefly, this faith maketh me to hang clearly of God, and of his blessed promises made in Christ, and in his sweet and precious blood, and not to fear death, nor any affliction, nor persecution, nor tribulation; but to despise all these things: and not alone these, but to despise also mine own life for Christ's sake.

Finally, of a fleshly beast, it maketh me a spiritual man: of a damnable child, it maketh me a heavenly son; of a servant of the devil, it maketh

me a free man of God's ; both delivered from the law, from sin, from death, from the devil, and from all misery that might hurt me. My lords, this is the faith that doth justify, and that we do preach. And because it is given from heaven into our hearts by the spirit of God, therefore it can be no idle thing ; but it must needs do all manner of things, that are to the honour of God, and also to the profit of our neighbour : insomuch, that at all times necessary, it must needs work well, and also bring forth all good works, that may be to profit and helping of any man. But these works are not done to justify the man, but a just man must needs do them. Not unto his profit, but alone to other men's profits, even as our master Christ suffered hunger, and thirst, and persecution, and took great labours in preaching of his word, yea, and also suffered death. All these things, I say, did he not to further or to profit himself, but for our merits, and for our profit. So likewise doth a just man his works. And as a good tree in time of the-year, bringeth forth good apples, not to make him good, for he is good afore, nor yet this apple is not to his profit, but unto other men's, notwithstanding, the good nature, that is in him, must needs bring it forth : so likewise, the just man must needs do good works, not by them to be justified, but alone in them to serve his brother : for he hath no need of them, as concerning his justification.

Wherefore, now here have you the very true cause of justification, that is, faith alone : and also the very true way and manner of doing good works : and how that no man can do good works, but a justified man, as our master Christ saith ; " Either make the tree good, and then his fruit good, or else the tree evil, and his fruit evil : for a good tree must needs bring forth good fruit, and a bad, evil fruit."

But now let me answer to the Scriptures, and to the reasons that they bring to prove that works do justify. First, cometh the fleshly and damnable reason, and she saith ; if we be justified alone by faith, what need we to do any good works ? what need we to crucify, or mortify our flesh ? for all these will not profit us, and we shall be saved, though we do none of them all. Thus did blind reason dispute with St. Paul, when that he had proved that God of his mercy, had delivered us freely from the damnable bondage of the law.

Anon he judged that he might do what he would, for he was no longer under the law. To this St. Paul answereth, that if we obey unto the works of sin, then are we the servants of sin, and if we obey to the works of justice, then are we the servants of justice. So, that if we truly have that same faith, that justifieth us, we shall desire to do none other works but those, that belong to justification ; not that the works do justify, but that we must needs do these works, as the very true fruits of justification, and not as the cause of justification. And therefore those men, that will do no good works because they are justified only by faith, are not the children of God, nor the children of justification. For the living spirit of God is none author of illness nor of sin, but he crieth in our hearts, " Abba Father." And of that, is this a sure, and an evident token, for if they were the very true children of God, they would be the gladder to do good works, because that they are justified freely. Therefore, should they also be moved freely to works, if it were for no other purpose, nor profit, but alone to do the will of their merciful God, that hath so freely justified them, and also to profit their neighbour, whom they are bound to serve of very true charity.

Take an example : here is a thief, that is condemned by right, and the law, to be hanged, whom

the King's grace of his mercy, doth freely deliver from the gallows, and giveth him his pardon. Now this thief, thus delivered, will not keep himself a true man, nor do those works, that belong to a true man to do, but falleth again to stealing, because the King pardoned him so freely, and reckoneth that the King is so merciful, that he will hang no thieves, but deliver them all of his mercy, without their deserving. Now, how think you? will the King be merciful unto this thief, when he cometh again to the gallows? Nay truly, for he was not delivered for that cause, but for to keep himself a true man.

Then cometh my lord of Rochester, and he saith, that faith doth begin a justification in us, but works do perform it, and make it perfect. I will recite his own words: "*Per fidem initiari dicitur justitia soluta, non autem consummari, nam consummata justitia non aliter quam ex operibus natis, & in lucem editis acquiri potest; opera consummate justificant. Fides primum inchoat, &c.*" (i. e. "Justification is said to be begun only by faith, but not to be consummated, for consummate justification can no otherwise be attained than by works, wrought and brought forth to light; works do consummate justification. Faith first begins, &c.") What christened man would think, that a bishop would thus trifle, and play with God's holy word? God's word is so plain, that no man can avoid it, how that faith justifieth alone; and now cometh my lord of Rochester, with a little, and a vain distinction, invented of his own brain, without authority of Scripture, and will clearly avoid all Scriptures, and all the whole disputation of St. Paul. But, my lord, say to me of your conscience, how do you reckon to avoid the vengeance of God, since you thus trifle, and despise God's holy word? Think you, that this vain distinction will be allowed



afore Jesus Christ? for whose glory we do contend and strive? Afore whom we do handle this matter?

I do think verily, that your own conscience doth sore accuse you, for thus blaspheming the holy word of God. Wherefore, my lord, for Christ's sake remember, that you are aged, and shall not long tarry here, and these vain distinctions that you have invented to the pleasure of men, and to the great perverting of God's holy word, shall be to your everlasting damnation. And at the least ways, if you fear not the terrible vengeance of God, remember the shame of the world, and think not, that all men be so mad, and so unlearned, as for to be deceived by this trifling distinction; seeing that the word of God is so plain against it. Doth not St. Paul say, that our justification is alone of faith, and not of works? How can you avoid this same, "*Non ex operibus*?" (not of works," Eph. 2). If that works do make justification perfect, then are not St. Paul's words true; also St. Paul saith, "that we are the children of God, by faith." And if we are the children, we are also the heirs.

Now, what imperfection find you in children, and in heirs? Christian men desire no more but this, and all this have they by faith only. And will you say, that faith doth but begin a justification? Besides that, you know well, that St. Paul doth prove in all the whole Epistle to the Romans, and also to the Galatians, that faith doth justify, yea, and that by contention against works. Now, how can you bring in works to make justification perfect, and St. Paul hath excluded them?

Moreover, why did not the Jews, against whose works St. Paul disputeth, bring in this distinction for them? Briefly, what will you say to all the doctors that I have here recited, which say, that *Sola fides*, "only faith," doth justify? But doubtless, if it were not to satisfy other men, this distinction were not

worthy an answer. Another damnable reason is made, that is an open, and plain, lie, which is this. Thou sayest, "that works do not justify, nor yet help to justification, but faith only. Therefore, thou destroyest all good works, and wilt that no man shall work well, but alone believe."

I answer, if there were any shame in men, they might well be ashamed of these open lies.

Tell me one, that is learned, that ever did say, or teach, that men should do no good works? Many there be, that say, works do not justify, as St. Paul, and all his scholars; but no man denieth good works. But I marvel not at them, for they do but the works of their father, which was a liar, and a murderer from the beginning. I pray you, what consequent is this, after your own logic? "works do not justify," therefore, we need not to do them, but despise them, for they be of no value. Take a like consequent. You say, that the King's grace doth not justify, therefore, you despise him? therefore, he is no longer King? Also the sun and moon do not justify, therefore, you destroy them? But such a damnable lie must St. Paul needs suffer, when he had proved, that faith only did justify. Then came your overthrow fathers, and said, "Therefore thou destroyest the law, for thou teachest, that it justifieth not." God forbid, saith St. Paul, for we do learn the very way to fulfil the law, that is, faith; whereby the law alone is fulfilled, and without the which, all the works of the law are but sin. So, do we likewise teach the very true way, whereby all good works must be done. As first, a man by faith to be justified; and then, a just man must needs do good works, which afore were but sin, and now be all good, yea, his eating, drinking, and sleeping, are good.

But, beside all these, have they certain Scriptures. First, of St. James, whose words are these, "Wilt

thou understand, O thou vain man, that faith without deeds is dead? was not Abraham our father justified of his deeds, when he offered his son Isaac on the altar? likewise, was not Rahab the harlot justified, when she received the messengers, and sent them out another way? St. Austin doth declare in divers places, that blessed St. Paul, and St. James, seemed for to be contrary in this matter, and therefore St. Austin, willing to save the estimation of this Epistle, doth declare, how that St. Paul doth speak of works, that go before faith, and St. James speaketh of works that follow faith; and yet St. Austin will not be compelled by the words of this Epistle, to grant, that any works do justify, by the reason, that St. Paul's words be so apparently and vehemently to the contrary. Wherefore, seeing that there sheweth a controversy here in two places of the Scripture, it standeth with all reason and learning, that the same place, which seemeth for to be feeblest, and also darkest, should be expounded, and declared by that part of Scripture, that is clearest and most of authority. Now, is this of truth, that the authority of St. Paul hath always in the church of God, been more of estimation, and strength, than ever was this Epistle (though that this Epistle hath been received), and especially in this cause, that we now here speak of. For in all the Scripture is not this article of justification so plainly, and plenteously handled, as it is by blessed St. Paul; this must every learned man grant: wherefore, it standeth with reason and learning, that this saying of St. James must needs be reduced, and brought unto blessed St. Paul's meaning, and not St. Paul unto St. James' saying.

Now therefore, inasmuch that both blessed St. Paul, and also St. James' meaning is, that good works should be done, and they that be christian men, should not be idle, and do no good, because that they

are the children of grace, but that they should rather in their living express outwardly their goodness, received of grace; and as blessed St. Paul saith, to give their members to be servants unto righteousness, as they were afore servants unto uncleanness. For this cause (I say) St. James' saying must needs be understood for to be written against those men, that boasted themselves of an idle and vain opinion, that they thought themselves to have, which they reckoned to be a good faith. Now St. James, to prove that this faith was but an idle thing, and of none effect, doth declare it clearly, by that, that it brought forth in time and place convenient, no good works. And therefore he calls it, "a dead faith."

He bringeth in also a naked brother, the which hath need of clothing, unto these men, that boast of their faith, which had no compassion of his necessity. Wherefore he concludeth, that they have no true faith. And therefore he saith unto them, "Shew unto me thy faith without works, and I shall shew unto thee of works, my faith."

Here is it plain, that St. James would no more, but that that faith is a dead faith, and of no value, that hath no works. For works should declare and shew the outward faith, and works should be an outward declaration, and a testimony of the inward justification, received of faith; not that works can or may take away our sin, or else be any satisfaction, for any part of sin, for that belongeth alone to Christ. As blessed St. John saith, and also St. Paul, "He hath appeared once for all, to put sin to flight by the offering up of himself." And that this is St. James' meaning, it is declared by that that followeth, "Thou seest (saith he) that faith wrought in Abraham's deeds, and through the deeds was his faith made perfect."

Mark, how faith wrought in his deeds; that

is, his faith, because it was a living faith, brought forth, and wrought out that high work of oblation. Also his faith was perfect through his deeds. That is, his faith was declared, and had a great testimony afore all the world, that it was a living, and a perfect, and a right shapen faith, that Abraham had. So that his inward faith declared him afore God, and his outward works afore the world, to be good, and justified. And thus was his faith made perfect afore God and man. Now unto this, do we all agree, that that faith alone justifieth afore God, which in time and place doth work well; yea, it is a living thing of God, which cannot be dead, nor idle in man. But yet for all that, we do give to faith and to Christ's blood, that glory, that belongeth to them alone, that is to say, justification, remission of sins, satisfying of God's wrath, taking away of everlasting vengeance, purchasing of mercy, fulfilling of the law, with all other like things. The glory of these, I say, belongeth to Christ only, and we are partakers of them by faith in Christ's blood only. For it is no work, that receiveth the promise made in Christ's blood, but faith only.

Take an example. "God saith to Abraham, In thy seed shall I bless all people." Now, can Abraham's works do nothing to receiving of this blessing, nor yet can they make him hang on that seed, but he believeth God, and sticketh fast by faith to that promise, and thinketh, that God shall be true, though he be a liar, and so is he partaker of the blessing made in the seed. Note also, that this blessing is promised in Abraham's seed, and not to Abraham's works. Therefore, Abraham is blessed, because he hangeth on the seed, and not on his works. Also, blessed St. Paul doth drive a sore argument against works, inasmuch as Scripture saith, *in semine, non in seminibus*,

*quasi in multis, sed in uno.* (i. e. "He saith, not unto seeds, as of many; but as of one." (Gal. iii. 16.)

Now, if works do help less or more to justification, then must needs the promise be made and pertain to many, and not to one only, the which were sore against blessed St. Paul. Wherefore, I conclude, that the glory and praise of justification belongeth only to faith in Christ's blood, and not to works in any wise. Notwithstanding, we do also laud, and praise good works, and do teach diligently to do good works, inasmuch as God their maker hath commanded them: yea, and also to profit their neighbours by their good works: and furthermore, that other men, which blaspheme the verity, might be moved, through their virtuous living and conversation, to the holy religion of Christ.

For these causes, and other more, I say, do I teach good men to live well and virtuously; yea, and also we teach that good works shall have a reward of God, as Scripture testifieth; but not remission of sins, nor yet justification for their reward. Wherefore, this saying of St. James must needs be verified against them that boasted themselves of vain faith, that was indeed but an idle opinion, and no true faith: for it did not work through charity. And therefore St. James disputeth well against them, that this faith was but a dead faith, and could not help them more than it helpeth the devil. So, that this thing of St. James maketh nothing against me, but rather with me.

Also, you have another Scripture for you, which is this: "Before God they are not justified, which hear the law, but they which do the law shall be justified." Of this text you glory and cry, *Opera, opera, "Works, works."* But if ye would consider the mind of St. Paul, you should well perceive that he meaneth not, how works might deserve justification, for then could he not have concluded this against the

Jews ; for they did the works of the law to the uttermost, and yet were they not justified. Wherefore, St. Paul meaneth by the hearers of the law, all them that do the outward works of the law, for fear, or for reward, or of hypocrisy, or else by them to be justified. The doers calleth he them, that do the works of the law, after the intent of the law, and as the law commandeth them, that is, in the true faith of Christ Jesus, which is the very end of the law, and the fulfilling of the law (as St. Paul saith) to all them that believe. Wherefore all men are but hearers only of the law, till the time that they have the faith of Christ Jesus, which is imputed unto them for justice. And the works of the law are no cause of justification, but alone an outward testimony and witness that the law is fulfilled inwardly in their conscience afore God, and fulfilled, that it hath no accusation against them, for Christ hath made satisfaction for them, of the which they are partakers by their faith. And so the law must be content to admit all these men, to be fulfillers and doers of the law.

And now, that you shall not say that this is my dream, here are St. Austin's words : " The doers of the law shall be justified. So must it be understood, that we may know that they can none otherwise be the doers of the law, except they are first justified ; not that justification belongeth unto doers, but that justification doth precede all manner of doings, &c." Hear you not that justification is first given, that men might be able to do the works of the law ? This is also the exposition of your gloss. I have marvelled, you study it no better.

Also, you have another Scripture, and that is this, " Cornelius, a Gentile, did great alms, and prayed unto God always : " unto whom the angel spake on this manner, " Thy prayer and thy alms are come up into remembrance in the presence of God." Of this text

you gather, that his good works did help to justify him. I answer ; the Holy Ghost hath openly declared himself there. For he saith, that this Cornelius was a devout man, and one that feared God. How could this be, without that God had taught him inwardly by faith ? Yea, how could he know God, and that devoutly, but by faith ? Therefore he was justified afore God by his faith, but the world knew not his justification. And therefore, the Holy Ghost doth declare his inward justification, when he saith, that he was devout, and feared God : and also doth shew openly the fruits of his justification, when he saith, that he did alms. Moreover, you have there, that the Holy Ghost fell on them, afore they were baptized in water, the which declareth openly, that they were justified afore God.

This is well declared also in your own law, whose words are these ; “ Cornelius, the centurion, being yet an heathen man, was made clean by the gift of the Holy Ghost.” Here have you plainly, that he was justified by the gift of the Holy Ghost, afore all good works. For he was an heathen man. Another Scripture ye have, which is this ; “ If I have all faith, so that I may transpose mountains, and have no charity, I am nothing.” Of this gather you, that faith without charity cannot justify : I answer ; this can you not gather of St. Paul, for it is open that he speaketh not of this thing, whereby that man might be justified, but only he teacheth how they, that be justified, must work with charity. It is also plain that he speaketh not of faith, that doth justify inwardly, but of that faith that doth work outwardly. The which is called a gift of the Holy Ghost ; as the gift of tongues, the gift of prophecies, the gift of healing, the gift of interpretation, as it is opened in the chapter afore. Now, is this faith not given to justify, but only to do miracles, wonders, and signs



by. And therefore, saith St. Paul; "If I had all faith, so that I could move mountains."

Also it is open, that certain men shall say unto Christ; "Behold, we have done miracles, and cast out devils in thy name: and yet he shall say unto them, Truly, I know you not." So that this faith is the gift of God, that justifieth not, any more than the gift of science, or prophecies. And sometime is it in the church, and sometime not, and it is never of necessity there to be. But, the faith that we speak of, which doth believe the promises of God, and sticketh fast to the blood of Christ, hath none other virtue but to justify, and must needs justify, where-soever he is, and he sticketh so fast to God's word, that he looketh for no miracles. This faith is never out of the church, for it is the life of the church, and it is that faith that our Master Christ prayed for, that it might never fail. And therefore St. Paul, when he describeth this faith, he calleth it a faith that worketh by charity, not that it justifieth by charity. For as he saith there plainly, "It is neither circumcision, nor yet uncircumcision, that is of any value in Christ Jesu, but faith." Here doth he plainly exclude from justification, the highest work of the law, circumcision, and setteth faith alone: not the gift of faith, that doth miracles, but the gift of faith that worketh by charity. And that ye shall not think this to be a dream, here bring I you Athanasius, saying, (whose words are these:) "There are two manners of faiths: one is justifying, as that, of the which is spoken, Thy faith hath saved thee. Another is called the gift of God, whereby miracles are done. Of the which it is written; "If you have faith, as a grain of mustard seed, &c." So that here have you plain, that faith doth justify only and perfectly, before all manner of works, that is, faith is given of God freely into our souls, unto the which faith,

justification is all only promised, and is all only imputed, and reckoned of God. Nevertheless, this faith in time and place convenient, is of that strength, that he must needs work by charity, not for to be justified thereby, for if he were not afore justified, it were not possible that he could have charity. For after your own schoolmen, an infidel cannot have charity: but the justified man, he is a free servant unto God, for the love that he hath unto him. The which love seeketh not in God, his own profit, nor his own advantage, for then were he wicked, but seeketh alone the will of God, and the profit of other men, and worketh neither for love of heaven, nor yet for fear of hell. For he knoweth well, that heaven, with all the joys thereof, is prepared from the beginning of the world, not by him, but by his Father. And it must needs follow, as contrary-wise, the infidel, and the wicked man, do not work their wicked deeds, because they would have hell or everlasting damnation to their reward, but they would rather the contrary. Notwithstanding, hell and everlasting damnation must needs follow their wicked deeds. Finally, a righteous man is a free servant of God, and worketh not as a hireling. For if it were possible that there were no heaven, yet would he do no less good; for his respect is to the Maker of the world, and the Lord of all rewards.

There is also another argument, and that is this; "Faith is a work: but works do not justify; therefore, faith doth not justify." Answer: truth it is, that we do not mean, how that faith, for his own dignity, and for his own perfection, doth justify us. But the Scripture doth say, that faith alone justifieth, because that it is that thing alone, whereby I do hang of Christ. And by my faith alone am I partaker of the merits and mercy purchased by

Christ's blood ; and faith it is alone that receiveth the promises made in Christ. Wherefore, we say with blessed St. Paul, that faith only justifieth *imputative* ; that is, all the merits and goodness, grace and favour, and all that is in Christ to our salvation, is imputed and reckoned unto us, because we hang and believe on him, and he can deceive no man that doth believe in him. And our justice is not (as the schoolmen teach) a formal justice, which is by fulfilling of the law deserved of us ; for then our justification were not of grace and of mercy, but of deserving and of duty. But it is a justice, that is reckoned and imputed unto us, for the faith in Christ Jesus, and it is not of our deserving, but clearly and fully of mercy imputed unto us.

Now, most honourable and gracious Prince, I have declared unto your Highness, what faith it is, that doth justify us before God, and also brought for my sentence, not only the blessed word of God, the which were sufficient in this cause, but the exposition of holy doctors, that your grace might see, that I am not moved to this opinion, of a light cause, nor that this doctrine of mine is so new, as men have noted it. Moreover, I have declared unto your grace, how that I would have good works done, and would not have a christian man's life to be an idle thing, or else a life of uncleanness : but I would have them to be changed into all virtue and goodness, and to live in good works, after the commandment and will of God. So, that your grace may well perceive, that mine adversaries have not reported truly on me, when they have said, how that I would, that men should neither fast, nor pray, nor give alms, nor yet be penitent for their sins. I have never said it, nor yet taught any like sentence : I take God to record, my works and my deeds, and all my writings, that

ever I wrote, or made. Wherefore, I doubt not, if it please your grace, graciously to hear me, but that I will prove them untrue in this cause, and many other more. This doth Almighty God know to be true. Who ever preserve your most royal majesty, in honour, and goodness, Amen.

A TREATISE  
ON  
FREE-WILL,

*At Page 266 of Barnes's Works, entitled,  
Free-will of Man, after the Fall of Adam, of his natural Strength, can do nothing but Sin before God.*

In this article will we not dispute, what man may do by the common influence, given him of God, over these inferior and worldly things, as what power he hath in eating and drinking, in sleeping and speaking, in buying and selling, and in all other such natural things, that be given of God indifferently to all men, both to good and bad: but here will we search, what strength is in man, of his natural power, without the spirit of God, for to will, or to do those things that be acceptable before God, unto the fulfilling of the will of God: as to believe in God, to love God after his commandments, to love justice for itself, to take God for his Father, to reckon him to be merciful unto him, to fear God lovingly, with all other things that men do call good works; this is the thing that we will search to know. Now, that he can do nothing in these causes by his free-will, our master Christ proveth it in these words; "He that abideth in me, and I in him, bringeth forth much fruit, for without me can ye do nothing: if a man abide not in me, he is cast out as a branch, and shall burn." (John, xv.)

Here it is open, that free-will without grace, can do nothing. I do not speak of eating and drinking

(though that be of grace), but nothing that is fruitful, that is meritorious, that is worthy of thanks, that is acceptable before God. For he, that hath not Christ in him, is cast out, this is the first fruit of free-will: then withereth he, that is the second fruit; this withering helpeth him nothing to goodness, he must wither, let him do the best: then is he gathered and cast in the fire, this is the third fruit. What can he in the fire do? Nothing but burn. He cannot lie there as a thing indifferent, but he must needs burn, and he cannot come out of the fire by his own strength: let him intend as much as he can, his intentions cannot help him, nor yet further him. So that all the might of free-will, when he is left alone, is nothing else, but first to be cast out; and second, to wither, so decayeth he; thirdly, to be cast into the fire. All this is worse and worse. Finally, he burneth, this is worst of all, for here is he past help, so that this is the strength, that free-will hath, to bring himself to utter destruction.

Now, where will our Duns-men bring in their *bonum conatum*? (good endeavour :) they are so long in bringing of it in, that free-will is brought to the fire, and there can he neither save himself from burning, nor yet help himself out. But to this my lord of Rochester answereth in a certain place, that free-will can do no good meritorious, *sed tamen non omnino facit nihil* (But yet it does not wholly do nothing). What is this to say, but *nihil* (nothing), if he do no good, that is meritorious, nor worthy of thanks before God? I pray you, what doth he, but *nihil*? our disputation is, what goodness, that he can do, without grace; and you grant, that he can do no goodness, and yet you say that he can do something. But let us see how St. Austin understandeth this text of St. John: "Lest any man should suppose, that the branch of himself could bring

forth; at the least-ways, a little fruit, therefore saith he, not without me, can you do a little, but without me can you do nothing, therefore whether it be little, or much, without him, can it not be done, without whom is nothing done. One of two things, must the branch needs do, either abide in the vine, or else burn in the fire; if it be not in the vine, then is it in the fire, &c."

My lord, where will you bring in here, your *something*, that free-will doth? St. Austin saith, without grace, can free-will do neither little, nor much: for if she be not in Christ, she burneth in the fire; Call you that, *somewhat*? where be now M. Duns' men; with their *bonum conatum*, *bonum studium*, & *applicationem ad bonum*? (good endeavour, good desire, and application to good.) Here must they needs lie in the fire, with all their good intents, with their good preparations, and their holy dispositions. Also; St. Paul; "We are not sufficient, to think any thing of ourselves, but our sufficiency is of God." (2 Cor. iii.) What is this, that we are not able to think any thing of ourselves? What can be a smaller thing; than to think? And yet this small thing can we not do. It is also open, that St. Paul meaneth not of the thinking, that cometh by natural power, for that God doth not let, but letteth it proceed, after his first ordinance, as we have open experience in infidels. But here he speaketh of such a thinking, as is acceptable and thankful before God, and therefore followeth it, God hath made us worthy ministers of the new testament. Here is it open, that he speaketh of that thinking, that is a singular and a special gift of God, and not of the common gift of nature, for that were nothing, to the ministration of the Gospel.

But let us see what St. Barnard saith of this text: "What shall we say? Is this alone all the merit of free-will, that he doth alone consent? Yea doubtless.

Not that the same consent, in the which is all his merit, is not of God, when that we can neither think (the which is less, than to consent) any thing of ourselves, as though we were sufficient of ourselves. These words are not mine, but the Apostle's, the which give unto God, and not to his free-will, all manner of things, that can be good, that is to say, to think, to will, or to perform, &c." Hear you not, that all things, that can be good, St. Barnard giveth to God? Now what strength hath free-will? he can neither think good, nor well, nor yet perform it: what remaineth? I know nothing, but either is included in thinking, in willing, or in performing, and all these are given to God. Also our master Christ saith, "shall men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of bramble-bushes? an evil tree can bring forth no good fruit." What meaneth our Master, when he saith, that grapes be not gathered of thorns? nothing else, but that the fruit must be like the manner of the tree. And therefore saith he, "an evil tree cannot bring forth good fruit." Now, can you not deny, but that free-will, without grace, is an evil tree; therefore, his fruit must needs be evil, he may well bring forth fruit, but it shall not be good. Is not all free-will's power declared in these words, "he cannot?" I pray you, what meaneth our master Christ in these words, "he cannot?" Christ said, "he cannot," and will you say, he can? also our Master saith, "You adders' birds, how can you speak good things, seeing that you be evil?" Had not these men free-will? and yet saith our Master, they could not speak good things. You reckon it but a small power, to speak good, and yet small as it is, free-will cannot do it; he may well speak, but it shall not be good. For how should he speak good, that is evil of himself? how should he do good, that knoweth no good, but is the very enemy



of goodness, yea, and as much as lieth in him, he would there were no goodness?

You have also a common principle, "there is nothing loved, and desired, but that, that is known." Now, how should free-will flee from sin, and desire goodness, and he knoweth not, which is very sin, and which not? as St. Paul saith; "By the law, is the knowledge of sin;" so blind is free-will, that he knoweth not sin, to be sin; nor virtue, to be virtue; but judgeth that thing to be good, that is evil, and that thing that is evil, to be good; for he is lost, and hath no true judgment. As St. Austin saith, "What goodness can he do, that is lost, except that he be delivered from his misery? can he do good by his free-will? God forbid, for man evil-using his free-will, did both lose himself, and also his free-will. And as man being alive, doth kill himself, and when he hath killed himself, he cannot make himself alive again: so likewise, when we do sin by free-will, and sin hath the victory, then is free-will clean lost, for of whom a man is overcome, unto him must he be servant. Doubtless, this sentence is of Peter the Apostle, the which, seeing that it is true, I pray you what manner of freedom can a bond-servant have? except it be, when it pleaseth him to sin, &c."

What can be said to this? doth he not clearly say, that man hath lost his free-will by sin? and can no more do unto goodness, than a dead man can do, to make himself alive again? yea, he can do nothing, but delight in sin. Call you that a freedom? call you that *bonum conatum*? call you that a preparing to grace? St. Austin doth declare, what goodness, that free-will deserveth, without grace, saying; "O cursed free-will, without God! we have experienced, what free-will can do without God, therefore are we miserable, because we have experienced,

what free-will is able to do, without God. Behold, man was made good, and by his free-will, was he made an evil man. When shall an evil man by his free-will forsaking God, make a man good, he being good, could not keep himself good, and now, that he is evil, shall he make himself good? when that he was good, he kept not himself good, and now, that he is evil, shall he say, I make myself good, &c."

Here is the very strength of free-will; by his strength are we made miserable; and that doth experience learn. And yet we boast free-will? St. Austin called it, "cursed free-will," and will we call it, "blessed free-will?" Is not this a goodly freedom, and great power to bring us to this everlasting misery? this is our *bonum conatum*, & *facere quid in se est*, & *preparare se ad gratiam* ("good endeavour," and, "to do what is in ourselves," and, "to prepare ourselves for grace"), with other damnable dreams, that we have, whose conclusions are nothing else, but to bring us to damnation. You see St. Austin's words be so plain, that no man can avoid them. Also St. Paul saith; "The wisdom of the flesh, is enemy to God, it is not subject unto the law, nor can be, for they that serve the flesh cannot please God." And "He that hath not the spirit of Christ, the same man is none of his: for the self spirit beareth witness to our spirit, that we be the children of God." Here have you plainly, that the wisdom of the flesh, is the very enemy against God. It cannot be said, but by wisdom he understandeth the best thing that is in man, for better than wisdom, can there nothing be: and yet that is enemy to God, for it is but flesh, and all that is in man without the spirit of God. And that St. Paul declareth, when he saith; "He that hath not the spirit of Christ, the same man is not Christ's." Here

is plain, that will, reason, wisdom, heart, or whatsoever thing that is in man (without the spirit of God) is but flesh, and cannot be obedient. He saith not, "he will not," but "he cannot," he hath no might, he hath no power, let him intend his best, do all that lieth in him, with all his might, and all his power, and yet it cannot please God, for it is but all flesh.

But here M. Duns will make a distinction, and say, that flesh is taken here for fleshly desires only and voluptuousness, and not for the desires of the soul, nor for the election of the will. I would know, what part of man it is that desireth, or that coveteth this voluptuousness? it is not the bones, nor the sinews, nor the flesh that hangeth thereon, but it is the high part of man, the very soul of man, he is the ground and author of all concupiscence: take away him, and there remaineth no voluptuousness. Therefore, St. Paul declareth him, and his operation, when he calleth it the wisdom of the flesh. But I would gladly know what he understandeth by unclean desires, and by voluptuousness? If he understand evil cogitations, as, adultery, fornication, manslaughter, theft, covetousness, deceit, uncleanness, blasphemy, pride, and foolishness: if he call these voluptuousness, these are they that come from the heart of man, and are chosen by the election of the will, as our master Christ doth clearly declare (Mark, vii.) Yea, and that from the very bottom of the heart. Can they invent any other uncleanly desires then these? and these come not from the bones, nor from the sinews, but from the very ground of the heart, and these are all his desires, and other hath he none of himself. Wherefore, these dreamers dream, they wot not what, and speak that they understand not. For all that is in man, heart, soul, flesh, and bone, &c. with all their works, are but flesh, except the spirit of God be there. Every man hath

a soul, but by that is he not Christ's, for then infidels were Christ's ; but the spirit of Christ maketh him Christ's, and the spirit of God giveth witness to our spirit, that we be the children of God. Our spirit giveth no witness to himself, that he is Christ's, for then were the spirit of God frustrate.

Wherefore, let our spirit, as well as he can, study his best, to apply himself to goodness after the utmost of his power : and yet is it but wisdom of the flesh, and hath no witness of God : yea, it is but an enemy, and it must needs be sin. For St. Austin saith, " He that feedeth without me, feedeth against me, &c." Mark, how he saith, " against me." Wherefore, all that free-will can do without grace, is but sin. Mark also, that Paul did write unto the Jews : yea, and to the best of them, which did study to do good works : yea, and that the best works, that were the works of the law ; and yet all these he calleth but flesh, and declareth openly, that all these good works could not help them, and yet no doubt but that the Jews did as much as lay in their free-will to do, to come to the favour of God, and yet it helped not, for all was but wisdom of the flesh, and enemy to God.

Also, St. Paul saith, " If you mortify the deeds of the flesh by the spirit, you shall live." You will not reckon, that St. Paul doth judge the spirit of God necessary, to kill the desires of the flesh, that is, of the sinews, or of the bones, or of any other thing that is in man, beside the spirit of man, for that were but a small thing, yea, it were but frustrate to set the spirit of God to kill these things, for the spirit of man can kill them, yea, and also rule them. For after your own philosophers, the spirit of man is the ruler and the guider of all the works, that he done by the body. Wherefore, the spirit of God must be he that shall kill the disease of our

spirit, the which is the most spiritual thing in us : and yet is it but flesh afore God. For if there were any power in him, high or low, to kill his desires, then were it but void to call the spirit of God to help. But let us hear what St. Austin saith on this text, "if you mortify your flesh, &c." "Thou wilt say, that can my will do, that can my free-will do. What will? what manner of free-will? except that he guide thee, thou fallest; except he lift thee up, thou liest still. How canst thou then do it by thy spirit, seeing that the Apostle saith; 'As many as be led by the spirit of God, be the children of God.' Wilt thou do of thyself? wilt thou be led of thine ownself to mortify the deeds of the flesh? what will it profit thee? For if thou be not an Epicure, thou shalt be a Stoic? Whether thou be an Epicure, or a Stoic; thou shalt not be among the children of God. For they, that be guided of the spirit of God, be the children of God: not they that live after their own flesh: not they that live after their own spirit; not they that be led of their own spirit: but as many as be led of the spirit of God, they be the children of God."

"But here a man will say, therefore, then are we well ruled, and we do not rule. I answer, Thou both rulest, and art ruled, but then dost thou well rule, if thou be ruled of the good spirit. Utterly, if thou want the spirit of God, thou canst do no good. Thou dost truly without his help, by thy free-will: but it is but evil done. Unto that is thy will apt, which is called free, and by evil doing, is she made a damnable bond-servant. When I say, without the help of God thou dost nothing, I understand by it, no good thing, for to do evil, thou hast free-will, without the help of God, though that be no freedom. Wherefore, you shall know, that so do you goodness, if the helping spirit be your

guider, the which if it be absent, you can do no good at all, &c."

Methink this saying is sufficient, if men would believe St. Austin. Mark, how he saith, without the spirit of God we lie in sin, let our spirit do the best he can. For they are not the children of God, that are guided after their own spirit, but after the spirit of God, for our spirit can do no good at all, but evil, if the spirit do not lead him. Where is now our *bonum studium*, our *bonus conatus*, & *applicatio ad bonum*? For our spirit can do nothing but evil, and is of himself, but a damnable servant. What good can a damnable servant do of himself? so that here it is openly proved, that the free-will of man, of his own strength, and of his own power, can do nothing but sin.

But now cometh the damnable reason, and fleshly wisdom, and will dispute, and say: If our free-will can do no goodness, what need God to command so many good things? what need God to give those commandments, that he knoweth will be impossible for us? and if they be impossible, what right is in him that damneth us for that thing, that is impossible for us to do? I answer, O thou blind and presumptuous, and damnable reason, where hast thou learned of any other creature, to inquire cause of thy Maker's will? or else to murmur against the ordinance of thy living God? what hast thou to do to require a cause of his acts? he hath made thee without thy consent and counsel, and may he not set laws and commandments to rule thee by, at his pleasure, without thy counsel? thou art worthy of none answer, thou art so presumptuous: nor there is no godly answer, that will satisfy thee. Nevertheless, I will stop thy blaspheming mouth, by thine own wisdom, to thy great shame.

First, this thing must thou grant me, that thy

God is essential goodness, and is nothing but goodness. Wherefore, he can command nothing, but that is good, just, and righteous. Which things, if thou do not, or be not able to do, thy Maker may not let his goodness undone, because of thy naughtiness, or for thine unableness. And if thou be not able to do those good things, that he commandeth thee, there is no fault in the commander, nor yet in the commandments. Wherefore then dost thou grudge against him without a cause? but yet wilt thou murmur, and say, how that he knoweth, how they are impossible for thee. Truth that is, he knoweth it. Then wilt thou say, wherefore doth he command them to me? O! thou presumptuous creature, it were sufficiently answered to thee, to say, that it is his pleasure so to command. What couldst thou say more? what occasion hadst thou to murmur? what wrong hast thou?

But I will go farther. Thy Maker knoweth that they be impossible for thee, he knoweth also thy damnable and presumptuous pride, that reckonest, how thou canst do all things that be good, of thine own strength, without any other help. And to subdue this presumptuous pride of thine, and to bring thee to knowledge of thine ownself, he hath given thee his commandments, of the which thou canst not complain, for they are both righteous and good. And if thou complain because they are impossible for thee, then consider thy damnable pride, that thoughtest thyself so strong, that thou couldst do all goodness.

But what wilt thou now do? these commandments are given, and cannot, nor shall not be changed, to satisfy thy presumptuous pride. Whereof wilt thou now complain? God's commandments be reasonable, they be good, they be righteous, and they be laudable: shall all these things be destroyed, to satisfy

thy pride? nay, not so. But thou shalt rather remain with all thy pride, under the damnation of these commandments. What sayest thou thereto? Canst thou avoid this? Canst thou say, but this is right? Canst thou save thyself from danger? Canst thou avoid thy damnation, by all thy carnal wisdom? Nay, verily. For he that is thy adversary, is omnipotent. Wherefore, say what thou wilt, so must it be, for it is God's ordinance, which may not be changed. But now, wilt thou ask, what remedy? no remedy, but this only, to confess thy weakness, to confess thy pride, to acknowledge thy unableness, to grant, that these commandments are lawful, holy, and good, and how thou art bound to keep them, and to give laud, and praise to God for them, and to go to thy merciful Maker with this confession, and to desire him, that he will help thee, that he will be merciful unto thee, that he will strengthen thee, for thou art too weak, that he will give thee his spirit; for thy spirit is too fleshly, to fulfil these spiritual commandments, and doubt thou not, but thou shalt find him both merciful, and also gracious, for he gave thee these commandments for that intent, secretly declaring, both thy pride, and also thy weakness, that thou mightest seek, and call unto him for help.

This doth St. Austin declare well in these words: "If man do perceive, that in the commandments, is any thing impossible, or else too hard, let him not remain in himself, but let him run unto God, his helper, the which hath given his commandments for that intent, that our desire might be stirred up, and that he might give help, &c." Mark, St. Austin saith, that the commandments be impossible unto our strength, but we must call to God for strength.

The Pelagians did reckon, that they had got a great victory, when they had made this carnal reason, that God would command nothing, that was



impossible. Of this reason did they glory, and triumph, and thought, that they must needs have some natural strength, and power to fulfil the commandments of God, seeing that God would command nothing impossible to man. Of this same reason, doth my lord of Rochester, and all his scholars glory unto this same day.

But let us see how St. Austin answereth them. "The Pelagians," saith he, "think, that they know a wondrous thing, when they say, God will not command that thing, the which he knoweth is impossible for man to do. Every man knoweth this, but therefore doth he command certain things, that we cannot do, because we might know, what thing we ought to ask of him; faith is she, which by prayer obtaineth that thing, that the law commandeth."

"Briefly, he that saith, If thou wilt, thou mayst keep my commandments; in the same book, a little after, saith; He shall give me keeping in my mouth. Plain it is, that we may keep the commandments, if we will, but because our will is prepared of God, of him it must be asked, that we may so much will, as will suffice us to do them. Truth it is, that we will when we will, but he maketh us to will that thing, that is good, &c."

Here have you plain, that my lord of Rochester's opinion, and the Pelagians' is all one, for they both do agree, that the commandments of God be not impossible to our natural strength. But St. Austin saith, "they be impossible." And therefore be they given, that we should know our weakness, and also ask strength to fulfil them. For faith, by prayer, doth obtain strength to fulfil the impossible commandments of the law. Here have you also, that God moveth us, and causeth us to be good willers, and giveth us a good will, for else we would never will, but evil.

Here is also to be noted, that the Pelagians and our Duns-men agree all in one, for they both say, that the grace of God doth help man's good purpose, so that man doth first intend, and purpose well: and as Duns saith, disposeth himself by attrition to receive grace, and then God doth help him. But the truth is contrary, for there is no good purpose in man, no good disposition, nor good intent, but all is against goodness, and clean contrary against all things that agree with grace, until that God of his mere mercy, cometh, and giveth grace, and changeth a man's will unto grace, and giveth him will, to will goodness, yea, and that when he thought nothing of goodness, but doth clearly resist all goodness.

This doth St. Austin prove in these words, "The Pelagians say, that they grant how that grace doth help every man's good purpose, but not that he giveth the love of virtue to him, that striveth against it. This thing do they say, as though man, of himself, without the help of God, hath a good purpose and a good mind unto virtue, by the which merit proceeding afore, he is worthy to be holpen of the grace of God, that followeth after. Doubtless, that grace that followeth, doth help the good purpose of man, but the good purpose should never have been, if grace had not preceded. And though that the good study of man, when it beginneth, is holpen of grace, yet did it never begin without grace, &c."

Here it is open, that the Pelagians grant as much of grace, as my lord of Rochester doth, and all his Duns-men, which learn, that man may have a good purpose, *bonum studium*, and a good mind, and a love to grace, of his own natural strength. The Pelagians grant even the same. But here you see, how St. Austin is clear against them. But now let us hear M. Duns' words, "A sinner may, by the natural and by the common influence of God, con-

sider his sins, as a thing that hath offended God, and as a thing contrary to the law of God, and letteth him from reward, and bringeth him to pain, and by this means may he hate and abhor his sin :” this calleth he, *attrition*, “whereby there is a disposition, saith he, or a merit in a man, of *congruence*, to take away mortal sin ; and this attrition is sufficient for a man, that shall receive the sacraments, and, *quod non ponat obicem*, that is, that he have no mortal sin actually in his will ; this is sufficient, and also a necessary way to receive grace, &c.”

This is ten times worse than the Pelagians’ sayings, for they grant, that man must needs have a special grace, to perform his good purpose. And M. Duns saith, that man may perform his *attrition* of his natural power ; yea, and this *attrition of congruence*, is a disposition to take away mortal sin, without any special grace.

I pray you, M. Duns, of what consequence is it, what hath attrition deserved, that mortal sin should be taken away for his pleasure ? What hath he deserved, that grace must follow him ? Infidels may have this attrition (for you grant that it cometh of natural strength), and yet shall it not follow of congruence, that they must receive grace, and also remission of their sins. Also, had not Judas this attrition, when he said, “I have sinned,” and was sorry for his sin, and also repented him, and knew well, that he had offended God, and also deserved pain ; and was no more willing (I think) so to do, and had also properties, that belonged to your attrition, and yet see how he did deserve, of congruence, grace, and remission of his sins ; yea, did not this attrition bring him to extreme desperation ? How can a man without a special grace, abhor his sins ? It is not possible, but he must love sin, so long as he is the enemy of God, yea, he would

there were no God to punish sin, such a pleasure hath he unto sin.

This is the nature of our hearts, and that doth every one of us feel, though these men teach the contrary; but I say to them the words of the prophet, *Redite ad cor, prevaricatores*, grope in your bosoms, and there find you the mortal enemy of God, which neither careth for God's displeasure, nor yet for his sin. And you say, that he may have a good attrition, of his natural strength, and if this attrition be good, then may he do good before grace, so that we shall gather grapes of thorns, and figs of briers.

But what saith St. Paul to your good attrition? He saith, that all things without faith are nothing. Is not this man, a fleshly man, and hath nothing of the spirit of God? (for by your own learning, he hath but the common influence; and yet shall he be sorry that he hath offended God? Shall he abhor his sins? Shall he dispose himself of congruence, to grace? St. Paul saith; "The flesh lusteth contrary to the spirit, and the works of the flesh be, adultery, fornication, uncleanness, idolatry, witchcraft, hatred, wrath, zeal, sedition, envying, with such others." I pray you, how do these works agree with your *attrition*? Call you this, abhorring of sin? Call you this, heaviness for offending God? Be these good dispositions, be these our good preparations unto God? Think you, that these works do deserve, of congruence, remission of mortal sin? These be the best works that a sinner hath in his heart, or else St. Paul lieth. Wherefore, it is not possible, but he must have in his will actual sin, for he can will nothing but sin. And therefore, if he receive the sacraments, with this attrition, he receiveth them to his damnation. For before grace, he is an utter enemy to God, and to all his sacraments. Where-

fore God must, of his mere mercy, mollify his heart, and give him grace to will goodness, or else he can neither do it, nor yet desire it. As St. Austin doth declare in these words, "The grace, which is given, of the largeness of God, privily into men's hearts, cannot be despised of no manner of hard heart. For therefore it is given, that the hardness of the heart should be taken away. Wherefore, when the Father is hard within, and doth learn, that we must come to his Son; then taketh he away our stony heart, and giveth us a fleshly heart. And by this means, he maketh us the children of promise and the vessels of mercy, which he hath prepared to glory. But wherefore doth he not learn all men to come to Christ? Because those that he learneth, he learneth of mercy; and those that he learneth not, of his judgment doth he not learn them, &c." Mark, that St. Austin saith, that "there is no hardness of heart, that can resist grace." And Duns saith, that "there may be an obstacle in man's heart." St. Austin saith, "that grace findeth the heart in hardness, and obstinacy." And Duns saith, "that there is a mollifying, that precedeth grace," which he calleth attrition. St. Austin saith, "When the Father learneth us within, then taketh he away our stony hearts." And Duns saith, "that we can do it by the common natural influence," that is, we can dispose ourselves, of congruence. Mark also, how all men be not taught to come to Christ, but only they, that be taught of mercy, be taught: and if it be of mercy, then it is not, of congruence, by attrition.

Briefly, a great heresy, more contrary to Christ and his blessed word, can no man learn, and yet must he be taken for a great clerk, and a subtle doctor; because he pleaseth the flesh. But shortly, have I openly proved by invincible Scriptures, and by doctors of great authority, that free-will, of his natural

strength, without a special grace, can do nothing, but abide in sin. Feign, invent, excogitate, and dream, as many holy purposes as we can, and as many subtle distinctions, as many good attritions, as many good applications, and all they be but sin, till grace come: yea, our sleeping, our eating, our drinking, our alms, our prayers, our singing, our ringing, our confessing, our mumbling, our mourning, our wailing: briefly, all that we can do, is but hypocrisy, and double sin afore God, till the time, that he of his mercy, chooseth us. For as he saith, "You have not chosen me, but I have chosen you."

Now will I declare a Scripture or two, that men bring to prove our *conatum*, and our *bonum studium*. The first place is this, God, from the beginning did ordain man, and left him in the hands of his own counsel, he did give him his commandments and his precepts, if thou wilt keep the commandments, and also keep peaceably faith, for ever they shall keep thee. I have set before thee water and fire, stretch thy hand to which thou wilt.

Of this place is gathered, that man may have a good intent, good mind, to apply himself to God of his natural power. But this cannot be proved of this text. For there is never a word of intending, of studying, or of applying will. For if we will take the words of the text, as they sound, they rather prove, that we may keep the commandments of God, yea, and also believe in God, than any other thing, the which, I am sure, no man will grant. For then how could men avoid, but that the philosophers be saved? For no man can deny, but that they did as much as lay in their natural power to come to God. Moreover, the Pelagians bring this text to prove, that man may do good of his natural strength. Now how will we avoid them? For if we deny, that it proveth their opinion (for the which the words sound most) then

will they deny, that it proveth our *conatum*, and our *bonum studium*, of the which, the text speaketh never a word. Wherefore, this text maketh neither for them, nor yet for you. Plain it is, that the words of the text sound of keeping, and of believing, if we will; and not of intending, nor of studying. Wherefore, it maketh not for your purpose.

But let us go to the text, "God from the beginning did make man." These words be open of the creation of the first man. He left him in the hands of his own counsel. These words make nothing for free-will, for here is nothing commanded him to do, but all only here is signified, that man is made lord over all inferior creatures, to use them at his pleasure, as it is open, Gen. ii. where that all things were brought afore Adam, to receive their names, signifying, that they were all left unto his use, and to his will, and he was lord over them all, and none over him. This was his kingdom, in the which he did reign, and govern all things after his commandments; but yet was it by general influence given him first of God: he did add his commandments and his precepts. In these words, is there no power given unto him, but here be given him commandments, whereby he must be ordered, and ruled, and not rule after his own counsel, but after the counsel and commandments of God. Wherefore, by these commandments was their part of his free domination and lordship, that he had over the inferior things, taken away; as where God commanded him, that he should not eat of the tree of knowledge, both of good and evil. Now, was it not free for him to use this tree after his own will, but after the commandment of God, and what power he had by his free will to keep this commandment, the effect did declare: "If thou wilt keep the commandments." Here beginneth the doubt. But yet of these words

can you not gather, that he hath power to keep them, nor yet that he might intend to keep them. For it followeth not, if thou wilt, therefore thou mayst, or thou mayst intend; as it followeth not, if I would, therefore I could depose you, for you will let this consequent.

Also you have a general rule, "*Conditionalis nihil ponit.*" Wherefore, these words, "if thou wilt keep the commandments," give no power, nor strength to free-will. But this all only followeth of this text, if a man will keep the commandments, then they shall keep him. But now where shall he have this will? That is not in his power: but look of St. Austin above recited, and there shall you find, how man cometh by this will. Also, the words of the text be not, "if thou wilt, thou mayst keep them, or intend to keep them." Nor they be not, "man may keep them, or intend, if he will." But, "if thou wilt keep them, then they shall keep thee." Wherefore of these words, can you not conclude any power in man. For it followeth not, when God saith, "do this, hear this, hear that, keep this, keep that, if thou wilt do this, if thou wilt do that," that we can do these things, or can intend to do them. "For God commandeth us to do all good things, therefore, we be able of our natural strength to do them." Then were the spirit of God frustrate, for the spirit of God is not given us to give commandments, but for to give us strength to fulfil, and righteously to understand those things, that be commanded us.

By the commandments, is declared that thing, that we ought to do, and also they shew our weakness and imbecility, that we might learn to seek for a greater strength, and greater help than is in us. As St. Austin saith in these words, "The law was given that man might find himself, and not to make his



sickness whole; but by his preaching, the sickness increased, that the physician might be sought. Wherefore, the law threatening, and not fulfilling that thing, that he commandeth, maketh a man to be underneath him; but the law is good, if a man do use it well. What is that, 'use the law well?' By the law, to know our sins and to seek God's help, to help our health, &c."

Here it is plain, that the commandments of God give us no strength, nor yet declare any strength to be in us, but shew us our duty, and also our weakness, and also move us, and cause us to seek further for strength. So that these words, "*si volueris*, if thou shalt be willing;" "*si feceris*, if thou wilt do;" "*si audieris*, if thou wilt hear;" "*si emundaveris*, if thou wilt cleanse;" "*si vis*, if thou wilt;" with all other such that be words of commandments, or words under a condition, do nothing declare, but what we are bound to do, and what shall follow, if we do them. And as the words of the law do threaten an evil end for sin, only for to fear evil doers, and wicked persons from evil, so do the words of promise stir up and quicken good men's hearts, for to do well, and also comfort them, that they should not despair in adversities: but neither these, nor those give us any strength, to do that, that is commanded: but only they do declare what pains and what rewards shall follow to the breakers and the keepers of them.

Another Scripture have you, where as our Master Christ saith: "How often would I have gathered thy children, and you would not." Here cry you, "*liberum arbitrium*, *lib. arb.* free-will, free-will." For if they had no free-will, what need our Master Christ to say, "thou wouldst not?" First must we consider, that there are two manner of wills in God: one is called his godly will, or his secret or inscrutable will, whereby that all things be made and ordered, and all

things be done. Of this will, no creature hath knowledge what he ought thereby to do, or not to do, for as St. Paul saith, it is inscrutable; and therefore, it is sufficient for us, to know thereof alone, that there is an inscrutable will. The other will in God, is called a declared and a manifest will, the which is declared and given to us in holy Scripture.

This will was shewed unto the uttermost by our Master Christ, the Son of God, and therefore is it lawful. And also, men are bound to search, and to know this will, and for that consideration, was it manifested unto us. This will doth declare what every man is bound to do, and what every man is bound to flee. And by this will are offered to every man, those things that be of salvation: and by this will God will have no man damned, for he letteth his word to be preached indifferently to all men.

Now, he that will know this will, must go to our Master Christ, in whom as St. Paul saith, "is all treasures of wisdom and science." So that he will shew us as much as is necessary for us to know, and as much as the Father of heaven would we should know. Now to the text, here speaketh God, that is incarnated, that was sent to will, to speak, to do, to preach, to be familiar with us, to do miracles, yea, and also to suffer death for our salvation.

Now, saith he, "I would have gathered thy children," that is to say, "I did preach, I did labour with all diligence to convert thee, I did miracles afore thee, yea, I wept, I wailed for thy sake: all these things did I, with all other things that might be to thy conversion, and that belongeth to God incarnate to do." But all these things did not profit them. And why? Because they would not. In him was there no fault. For there was nothing undone, that belonged to him to do, so that he was willing, and yet did it not profit Jerusalem. And

why? Because they would not. But now, why would they not? Because it was in their power to will to consent? and to will not to consent? Nay truly, but because as John saith; "they could not believe, for he had blinded their eyes, and hardened their hearts, that they should not see with their eyes, nor understand with their hearts." So, that they must needs only will, not to consent, and could no otherwise do, but not consent: and yet were they neither constrained, nor compelled, nor wrung to it with violence, but freely they would not consent, and yet had they the liberty of their free-will, that was to be against Christ, and not to be with him. For the liberty of free-will standeth not in this, that he may will this thing, and also will the contrary thereof. But it standeth in that, that all things that he will, or will not, are at his own will, and is not thereto constrained, but willet it freely without compulsion; and yet he cannot choose, no nor will not choose, but so to will, or so not to will. So that there is a necessity immutable, but not a necessity of compulsion, or coercion.

Now, is it open, that this place maketh not for you, for there was no power, nor none intent in their free-will, to consent unto Christ, but to will the contrary, and not to will unto him: and all was because they were blinded, and their hearts were hardened. And therefore of their natural strength could they none otherwise do, but vary from Christ: no, they would, nor desired no otherwise, but to swerve from him: that was all their will and delight. But wherefore they were blinded, and wherefore they were hardened, that must you inquire of the inscrutable will, that pleased him so to leave them. The cause thereof, I am sure he can tell you, if he would. I am sure it is righteously done; that is enough for me.

But now cometh the blind and fleshly reason, and

murmureth at this, and asketh, why are we condemned for this? Why doth God punish us for this, seeing we can will no otherwise? Also he blindeth us, he maketh our hearts hard, that we cannot amend us, and it lieth not in our power without his will. Now, why complaineth he of us? Why layeth he it to our charge? Here is nothing done but his will. We are but instruments of his will. And if we do not well, why giveth he us not strength to do better? Thou damnable reason, who can satisfy thee, which reckoneth nothing to be well done, but that thou doest, and that is done with thy counsel? Thinkest thou not, that thou art good and perfect in thine own nature; and all that is in thee, is both well and righteously made?

To this, thou wilt answer, Yea, for thou wilt not condemn thyself, nor any thing that is thine. But now answer me to this: What hath made thee so well, and given thee all thy righteousness; and all thy goodness that thou hast? Thou must needs say, God.

But what was the cause that thou art so well, so righteous, and so good made, seeing that thou deservest nothing? Yea, and all these things be done so well, and so righteously, that thou canst not complain, nor amend them: no, nor yet devise which way to amend them.

Now, why dost thou not murmur against God? Seeing that all things are done without thy knowledge, and also without thy deserving? Why dost thou not inquire a cause of him? Why murmurest thou not, that he hath made thee so good, and so rightful, seeing that thou hadst nothing deserved? But here wilt thou grant, that God did all things for the best. Why dost thou not likewise in other things?

Furthermore, thou must needs grant, that God thy Maker, and the Governor of all things, is most wise, most righteous, and most merciful: and so

wise, that nothing that he doth, can be amended: so righteous, that there can be no suspicion in him of unrighteousness: so merciful is he, that he can do nothing without mercy. How thinkest thou? Wilt thou grant these things of thy Maker? Thou must needs grant them.

Now, compare unto this rule, thy blindness that is within thee, thy induration that is in thee, thy perverse will towards goodness, and what cause hast thou to complain? Thou hast granted, that he doth all things righteously: therefore, thou hast no wrong. He doth all things mercifully: therefore, thou art in thy blindness, and in thy hardness, better treated than thou hast deserved. Moreover, thou believest, that God is righteous, that God is wise, and that God is merciful. Now faith is of those things, that do not appear, nor that can be proved by exterior causes. Hold thee fast to this faith, then all thy fleshly reasons be assoiled. For when God saveth so few men, and damneth so many, and thou knowest no cause why, yet must thou believe, that he is merciful and righteous. This is faith, which, if it could be proved by exterior causes, then were it no need to believe it.

Now, if thou believe, that he is merciful, good, and righteous unto thee, wherefore murmurest thou? But yet wouldst thou know, wherefore he endureth thee, and blindeth thee, and giveth thee no grace to amend; and unto thy brother, that hath no better deserved than thou hast; yea, he hath likewise evil deserved as thou hast, and yet he giveth him grace, and taketh away his hardness, and giveth him a will, to will all goodness. This is not indifferently done as thou thinkest.

First, I say to thee, thou hast no cause to complain, for thou hast no wrong, thou hast all things, that are thine, and nothing is taken from thee, that

belongeth to thee. Why dost thou complain of this right? Yea, but yet sayst thou, that he giveth me the mercy, and giveth the other none; I answer, what is that to thee, is not his mercy his own? "Is it not lawful for him to give it to whom he will? Is thine eye evil, because he is good?" "Take that, that is thine, and go thy way." For if it be his will to shew his wrath, and to make his power known over the vessels of wrath, ordained to damnation, and to declare the riches of his glory unto the vessels of mercy which he had prepared, and elected unto glory; what hast thou therewith to do? What cause hast thou thereof to complain? It is the will of God, which cannot be but well and righteous, the which (as thou sayst) thou believest.

Wherefore, leave off thy murmuring and thy disputation against God, and reckon that he is of his nature merciful, and hath no delight, nor no pleasure in thy damnation; but believe thou stedfastly, that if he shew his mercy but unto one man in all the world, that thou shalt be that same one man; and though an angel would make thee believe, that all the world should be damned, yet stick thou fast to his mercy and to his justice, that justifieth thee, and believe, that the sweet blood of his blessed Son cannot be shed in vain, but it must needs justify sinners, and so many as stick fast unto it, though they be never so blinded, and never so hardened, for it was shed alone for them.

If thou canst thus satisfy thyself, then dost thou well, and thou art doubtless out of jeopardy. If thou wilt not be content, but wilt dispute, and inquire causes of God's inscrutable will, then will I stand by, and look on, and see what victordom thou shalt get. I doubt not, but it will repent thee, and that he will conclude with thee on this manner: "May not I do what I will? Now, here have I an-

swered to an inextricable doubt, that our schoolmen are wrapped in, which would know, what is the cause of predestination, and of reprobation. Duns, being wrapped between carnal reason and the invincible Scriptures of St. Paul, cannot tell, whether he may grant, that the will of God is alone the cause of election, or else any merits of man preceding afore : he concludeth, that both the opinions may be defended. Bonaventure blindly concludeth, that there may be a cause, preceding grace, to deserve it. So that in these unfruitful questions, which engender nothing but contention, have they spent all their lives, and for these things be given unto them peculiar names, as, subtle, and seraphical, and irrefragable Doctors. But against them all I set St. Paul, which took intolerable labours to prove by invincible Scriptures, and example thereof, that there was no cause but only the will of God ; and to prove this, he bringeth in an evident example of Jacob and Esau ; how Jacob was elected, and Esau reprobated, afore they were born, and afore they had done either good or bad.

Can there be a plainer example ? What meaneth Paul in these words, “ when they were neither born, nor had done good nor bad, but that the election of God might stand ? ” Doth he not clearly take away all manner of merits, both *de congruo*, and also *de condigno* (of congruity and condignity), and declare the will of God to be the cause only ? But here will subtle blindness say, that God saw before, that Jacob should do good, and therefore did he choose him. He saw also, that Esau should do no good, and therefore he repelled him. Alas ! for blindness, what will you judge of that, that God saw ? How know we that God saw that ? And if he saw it, yet how know we that that was the cause of Jacob's election ? These children be unborn, and they have done

neither good nor bad, and yet one of them is chosen, and the other is refused; St. Paul knoweth none other cause, but the will of God; and will you discuss another?

And where you say, that God did see afore, that one of them should do good, I pray you, what was the cause, or whereby saw he, that he should do good? You must needs say, by that, that he would give him his grace; therefore, the will of God is yet the cause of election, for because that God would give him his grace. Therefore, God saw, that he should do good, and so should also the other have done, if God would have given him that same grace. Wherefore, you giants, that will subdue heaven and earth, leave your searching of this cause, and be content with the will of God, and doubt not, but the will of God is as righteous and as lawful a cause, as your merits can be. And doubt you not, but St. Paul (that took so great labours in this matter) did see as far in man's deservings, as we can do: and yet he concluded with these words of Scripture, "I will shew mercy, to whom I shew mercy: I will have compassion, of whom I have compassion." So lieth it not in man's will or cunning, but in the mercy of God. He saith not, I will have mercy on him, that I see shall do good; but I will shew mercy to whom I will. He saith not, I will have compassion of him that shall deserve it, *de congruo*; but of him of whom I will have compassion. This doth St. Austin well prove in these words; "the disputation of them is vain, the which do defend the presence of God against the grace of God, and therefore say, that we were chosen afore the making of the world, because that God knew afore that we should be good, not because he should make us good. But he that saith, 'you have not chosen me,' saith not that. For if he did therefore choose us, because that he knew



before, that we should be good, then must he also know before, that we should first have chosen him? &c."

Here is it plain, that the election of God is not, because he saw afore, that we should do well, but only the cause of election, is his mere mercy, and the cause of our doing well, is his election. And therefore St. Paul saith, "not of works, but of calling."

Now go to, you subtle Dunsmen, with all your carnal reasons, and search out a cause of his secret will. If you did believe, that he were good, righteous, and merciful, it were a great comfort for you, that the election stood all only by his will, for so were you sure, that it should be both righteously done, and mercifully; but you have no faith, and therefore must you needs mistrust God, and of that fall you to invent causes of election, of your own strength, As one should say, because God will not of his righteousness or of his mercy choose us, we will be sure that we shall be elected. For first will we invent, that the election cometh of deserving, and then will we also dream certain works, that shall thereunto be appointed of us, and those will we do at our pleasure, so that the election and reprobation shall stand all in your hands, let God do what that pleaseth him. But now because there be certain open places of Scripture, that give only the cause to God, all only of election, and also of reprobation, therefore are these men sore troubled, and can tell no other remedy, but only to study, how they may wring and wrest the open Scriptures, to the fortifying of their errors, and to the satisfying of their carnal reason; so that where the Holy Ghost saith, "I will obdurate the heart of Pharaoh," they will take upon them to learn and to teach the Holy Ghost to speak better, and to say of this manner: I will suffer Pharaoh to be indurated; but I will not do it, but my easiness,

my softness, whereby that I shall suffer him, shall bring other men to repentance, but Pharaoh shall it make more obstinate in malice. So that God doth indurate (as you say) when he doth not chastise a sinner, but sheweth softness, and easiness, and sufferance to him. He is merciful, when he doth call a sinner to repentance by affliction and scourging. So that induration, after your exposition, is nothing else but for to suffer evil by softness and by goodness. To have mercy, is nothing else but to correct, to scourge, and to punish men for their sins.

This is the exposition of induration, after St. Hierome, and after your common gloss. St. Hierome's words be these, "God doth indurate, when he doth not by and by castigate a sinner. He hath mercy when he doth call a sinner by and by unto repentance by afflictions, &c." This is authority enough, as you think, what should you search any further? Did not these men understand Scripture? Is not this exposition plain? This taketh away all inconveniences. By this exposition, God is not the author of evil. This is a clerklly exposition: briefly, this must needs be the true exposition. Wherefore, it were better for you, to err with St. Hierome and with our old schoolmen, than for to say true with these new heretics; so call you all them, that will reprove old errors.

Now, have you well defended the matter. Now, is your cause well proved, Now must the Holy Ghost change his words; for he hath new schoolmasters. And where he was wont to say, "I have hardened Pharaoh's heart;" now must he say, Pharaoh hath hardened himself by my softness and by my easiness, but I have not done it.

But yet, I pray you, how would you satisfy a weak conscience, that sticks fast to the word of God, and reckoneth that the Holy Ghost knoweth

well what he shall speak; and will speak nothing without a great cause, but that that he speaketh, shall be so well spoken, that you cannot amend it?

How think you, is it sufficient to say to this poor man, St. Hierome and all schoolmen say so, hold thou thy peace, be thou content with their expositions, search thou no further, it doth not become thee to know it?

But now, if he will lay to your charge, that this thing is openly written in Scripture, and the words of Moses and of Paul be plain, therefore you must answer to them. And it shall be as lawful and as necessary for him to know the mind of holy Scripture; as the exposition of St. Hierome, or of M. Duns. Scripture saith plainly, that God doth indurate Pharaoh's heart, and not Pharaoh his own heart. It is a new exposition, to say, I will indurate Pharaoh's heart; that shall be as much, as Pharaoh shall indurate himself, through my softness and patience. By this rule shall Anaxagoras' philosophy come in place, that shall make of every thing what he will. And whereas Scripture saith, "Saul, Saul; why dost thou persecute me?" shall be as much to say, as why sufferest thou me to be persecuted? Also, the Father of heaven sent his only Son into the world, shall be as much to say, as, he suffered his Son to be sent. So that we shall expound all places of Scripture to our own purpose, and not to look what is the sentence of holy Scripture, nor yet what the mind of the Holy Ghost is; but what exposition will please us best, and what will best serve to our carnal mind. Furthermore, if God do harden men's hearts, when he suffereth, and when he is soft, and sheweth mercy; then did he harden the hearts of the Jews, when he brought them out of Egypt into the wilderness; then did he harden them, when he brought them out of the captivity of Babylon; then hardeneth he

all the world, whom he suffereth in great softness and mercy. Also after your exposition, he was merciful to Israel, when he sent them into Babylon. For there did he chasten them, and by afflictions provoked them to repentance.

Likewise, the Father of heaven had no mercy on the world, when he sent his Son, for of that he gave men an occasion of induration. But when he damneth the sinners, then by your rule hath he mercy on them, for he chasteneth and punisheth them for their sins. This is your rule of induration, and no man may say against it. *Miserere* may not signify to give grace, nor to remit sin, but to chastise and to scourge, and by pains provoke to repentance. And *indurare* shall not signify to harden, but to suffer, and to be patient, and to be merciful, and not to chastise.

But, masters, how was God merciful unto Pharaoh by softness and by sufferance, whom he chastened so sore with ten plagues, and with such plagues, as Moses marvelled of? Call you that softness? Was that suffering of Pharaoh? Was that an occasion of induration, by patience, easiness, and by sufferance? I pray you, how could God chastise him more? And yet at every plague he saith; "I will indurate Pharaoh's heart." Wherefore, Pharaoh had none occasion of induration by sufferance and by patience of God, but rather by his scourging. Wherefore, there must be another sense in these words, than you do make, and we must seek out another way to know, how God doth work induration in men's hearts (such words doth the Holy Ghost use, therefore dare we speak them). And how he is the doer both of good and evil; and yet all things that he doth, are well done. First, you must needs grant, that after the fall of Adam, the pure nature of man was corrupted by sin, whereby we be all wicked, and born

(as St. Paul saith) "by nature the children of wrath," and as David saith, "we were all conceived in sin." Notwithstanding, of this corrupt nature doth God make all men, both good and bad. Those that be good, be good by his grace. Those that be bad, be bad of corrupted nature, and yet God hath made them. Nevertheless, by nature they are of the same goodness, and no better than nature is, that is to say, evil: but yet the creation of God, and his workmanship is good, though the thing be evil in itself, yet is God's work before himself good, though all the world say, nay.

Now, God of his infinite power doth rule and guide all manner of men, both good and bad, and all men by his infinite power are moved unto operations, but every man after his nature. As of your own philosophy, *Primum mobile*, by the reason of his swift motion, carrieth all the inferior things with him, and suffereth nothing to be unmoved: notwithstanding, he moveth all things after their own natural course.

So likewise, God, of his infinite power, letteth nothing to be exempted from him, but all things to be subject unto his action, and nothing can be done by them, but by his principal motion: so that he worketh in all manner of things that be either good or bad, not changing their nature, but moving them only to work after their nature: so that God worketh good, and evil worketh evil, and God useth them both as instruments, and yet doth he nothing evil, but evil is done only through the evil man, God working by him (but not evil) as by an instrument. Take an example. A man doth saw a block with an evil saw. The which is nothing apt for to cut well, and yet must it needs cut at the moving of the man, though it be never so evil, for the man in moving, doth not change the nature of the saw.

Nevertheless, the action of the man is good and cunningly done, but the cutting of the saw is after his nature. So likewise, God moveth those evil instruments to working, and by his common influence, given to all creatures, suffereth them not to be idle, but he changeth not their nature. Wherefore, their operation is a fruit convenient for their corrupted nature, but yet there is no fault in God's moving.

Here have you now, how God works all things in all men both good and bad. But now let us go to the induration of them, that be evil. Thus is it. First, they be evil by nature, and can abide nothing that is good, nor yet suffer any good to be done. Wherefore, when God, the author of goodness, doth any thing, or saith any thing unto them, then are they more and more, sorer and sorer, contrary unto God, and to all his works; for of their nature they are so corrupted, and cannot agree to the will of God, nor to any thing that is good, but when it is offered them either in word or deed, then blaspheme they, then withstand they with all their might, with all their power, then are they provoked of their corrupted nature to more mischief and more, and always harder and harder: as for an example, when the blessed word of God is preached unto them, that be wicked, to whom God hath given no grace to receive it, then are they nothing amended, but more indurated, and always harder and harder. And the more the word of God is preached, the more obstinate are they, and the more mischief intend they.

Then all their study, then all their wisdom, then all their labour, then all their might, then all their power, then all their craft and subtilty, then all their friends, that they can make in heaven and in earth, are nothing else but to oppress the word of God: yea, and they think all too little, for the more it is preached, the more they grudge, and the worse be they.

After this manner was the heart of Pharaoh indurated, when that the word of God was declared unto him by Moses, and he had no grace to receive it : then the more that Moses laboured in the word, the more sturdy was he in withstanding of it, and always harder and harder.

This is also evidently seen in the corrupt nature of man, for the more a thing is forbidden him, the more desireth he to do it. But what need me to go into Egypt to fetch an example to prove this ? Look of mine own countrymen, if they be not openly indurated, and so blinded, that no man is able to defend them by any reason or law, and therefore they take themselves to violence and oppression, as Pharaoh did, which be the right signs, and tokens of induration. For the more the word of God is preached, and the verity is declared unto them, the more sturdy and obstinate be they against it. And all their studies, all their wits, all their counsels, all their crafts, and mischiefs, with all glossings and lyings, and with blaspheming of God and his preachers, are nothing else but to keep the word of God under, and to withstand that verity, which they know in their conscience must need go forth, though all the world say, nay. And therefore will they hear no man, nor reason with any man, but even say as Pharaoh did, " I will not let the people go."

But if they were not indurated, and the very enemies unto the verity, they would at the least-ways hear their poor brethren, of charity, and know what they could say, and if they could prove their sayings to be true ; then if they had the love of the verity, as they have but the shadow, they would give immortal thanks to God, and with great meekness, and with a low spirit, receive the heavenly verity, and thank their brethren heartily, that they warned them of such a damnable way, now in good time

and season. But there is no love to the verity, nor yet fear of God, nor regard to the danger of their souls. And why? For they be children of induration and of blasphemy. And therefore, the more it is preached, the more are they obstinate. This is the very induration, that God worketh in men's hearts, whereby they be the children of darkness. Therefore, let us pray instantly to God, to mollify our hard hearts, for Christ's dear blood sake. Amen.

**END OF THE SELECTIONS FROM BARNES.**



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## AN ACCOUNT

Of the Lives and Writings of those Authors, from whom the Selection contained in this Volume is made, taken from the *Catalogus Scriptorum illustrum Britannicorum* of Bishop Bale, who was a cotemporary Writer, and a very learned and zealous Reformer of that Period. He was born A. D. 1495, and died 1563.

N. B. *Those works of Tindal, Frith, and Barnes, which are here marked with an asterisk\*, are contained in that edition of their writings, which John Fox, the Martyrologist, published, A. D. 1573.*

## WILLIAM TINDAL.

WILLIAM TINDAL, sometimes called Hitchens, a man born for the salvation of many souls in Christ Jesus, applied diligently to study in the University of Oxford from a youth; and, being well skilled in the Greek and Latin tongues, drew abundantly from those fountains of valuable learning. This apostle of Jesus Christ in our latter age, as he gradually increased in years, was eminently distinguished by his literary attainments, fidelity, and innocence of life. He was justly reputed to be the first man in the English nation, after John Wickliff, who defended the cause of divine truth against the iniquitous disciples of Balaam, and instructed the people in a true faith towards God. This pious man was always in a state of watchful preparation, that he might strenuously fulfil the arduous duties of the station which God had thus assigned him. No one of the primitive fathers taught the doctrine of Christ with

more perspicuity; and no one ever detected the errors of the infamous followers of Anti-christ with greater clearness of investigation.

This truly evangelical author never wrote any thing that was inconsistent with the purity of religion, or contrary to sound doctrine. His great object was to unfold the abominations and to lay open the foul iniquities of that great harlot and mother of fornications, the church of Rome, as she is called. He published several books, with the design of overthrowing the prevailing dominion of such monstrous impiety in this country. The two prime leaders of the Popish party, Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More, the Lord Chancellor, soon rose up against him: but he easily refuted their weak and sophistical attacks, by the invincible word of God. They were overwhelmed by the glory of that Majesty, against which they unsuccessfully directed their attacks.

To these was added, the hitherto unheard-of madness and impiety of Cuthbert Tunstal, who so unworthily filled the episcopal chair of the diocese of London. With highly iniquitous presumption, he caused the most holy Testament of God the Father, in his Son Jesus Christ, as translated into English, by Tindal, to be publicly burned in St. Paul's churchyard, A. D. 1530. Nevertheless, it was not long before the teachers and abettors of the same seducing falsehoods, were compelled, contrary to their depraved consciences, and during the very lifetime of King Henry VIII. to affirm what they had denied, and to condemn what they had approved of.

Tindal, who may justly be called a pious and devoted son of the reformed Church of England, published the following valuable treatises in the English language.

- \* *The Obedience of a Christian Man.*
- \* *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon.*

- \* *The Practice of Popish Prelates.*
- \* *An Answer to Sir T. More's Dialogues.*
- \* *A Book on the Church, against Sir T. More.*
- \* *The Exposition upon Mr. W. Tracy's Will.*
- \* *An Exposition on Mat. v. vi. vii.*
- \* *A Pathway into the Holy Scripture.*
- \* *An Exposition on the first Epistle of St. John.*
- \* *A Treatise on Signs and Sacraments.*
- \* *Prologues to many of the Books of Scripture.*
- \* *The Supper of the Lord.*
- \* *A Protestation, touching the Resurrection of the Body, &c.*
- \* *Two Letters to John Frith.*

He also published † the examinations of William Thorp and John Oldcastle, with prefaces of his own writing.

At length, this invincible martyr of Christ, like gold tried in the fire, met with a violent death at Filford in Flanders, through the tyrannical persecution of the Doctors of Lovain, in September, A. D. 1536.

## JOHN FRITH.

JOHN FRITH, born in the city of London, a young man of most refined accomplishments both in person and mind, in addition to much deep learning in dif-

† The following works of Tindal are also mentioned by Bishop Tanner. (Biblioth. Brit.)

A translation of some treatises by Luther.

Do. of the "Enchiridion Militis Christiani," of Erasmus.

Do. of an Oration of Isocrates.

Exposition on 1 Cor. vii.

Do. on 1 Cor. iv.

A godly Disputation between a Christian Shoemaker and a Popish Parson.

The Disclosing of the Man of Sin.

A Book on Matrimony.

ferent branches of science, was singularly well skilled in the Latin and Greek languages. Thomas Wolsey, Cardinal of York, removed him from King's College in Cambridge, to the new college, which he had just founded at Oxford (Christ Church), wholly on account of the eminent qualifications of his mind, that he might contribute to the establishment of good learning and discipline in that College, of which he became one of the brightest ornaments. Which object (having at an early age applied himself to the most elegant and useful studies) he admirably accomplished.

Soon afterwards, William Tindal, that true apostle of our age in England, taking Frith, as Paul did Timothy, to be the companion of his ministry, encouraged him to unite with himself in opposing the more than Jewish follies and Gentile superstitions of the Papists.

Frith readily complied, and became with Tindal a joint promoter of the cause of the reformation against the impure and shameless harlot, the accursed and blasphemous mother of so many abominations. Undismayed by the ferocious threats of the Babylonish tyrants, he exposed the shame and nakedness of that corrupted church, to the light of the Gospel. Rochester and More, those well-known patrons of hypocrisy, openly strove to screen the Popish iniquities, by specious and weak arguments; but in vain.

At length, in consequence of his declaring that the doctrine of transubstantiation was not to be found in the Scriptures, but was a mere invention of the Papists; and that there was no place of purgatory after death; he was encompassed by those fat bulls of Basan, the Bishops of London, Lincoln, and Winchester, with other ministers of Satan and Antichrist, and was by them sentenced to the flames.

He was the author of the following works in the

English language, against those enemies of true religion, Rochester, More, and Rastal.

- \* *A Book against Purgatory.*
- \* *An Answer to Rastal's Dialogue.*
- \* *An Answer to Sir Thomas More.*
- \* *An Answer to Fisher, Bishop of Rochester.*
- \* *A Bulwark against Rastal.*
- \* *A Judgment on Mr. Tract's Will and Testament.*
- \* *A Letter written from the Tower to Christ's Congregation.*
- \* *A Mirror, or Glass to know thyself.*
- \* *A Treatise on Baptism.*
- \* *An Antithesis between Christ and the Pope.*
- \* *A Book on the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ.*

*A Translation of the Revelation of Antichrist †.*

This most constant martyr of Christ, together with one Andrew Hewit, a companion in faith and tribulation, was burnt in Smithfield on the 4th day of July 1533, in the 26th year of his age; chiefly at the instigation of Stokesly and Gardiner.

In the midst of the fire, he exhibited the cheerfulness of St. Stephen in his countenance, and is now washed in the blood of the Lamb before the throne of God.

## PATRICK HAMILTON.

PATRICK HAMILTON, a native of Scotland, and of illustrious birth, when a young man of twenty-three years of age, was endowed with much learning, and

† In Bishop Tanner the following also are enumerated :

The Articles for which he died.

A Mirror, or Glass for them that be sick or in Pain, translated from the Dutch.

Patrick's Places, translated from the Latin of Patrick Hamilton.

Also, some Translations from the Works of Luther.

went from that remote corner of the world to Marburg, a city of the principality of Hesse in Germany, in order that he might there be more abundantly confirmed in divine truth. He was the first, who, after the establishment of that university by Philip, Prince of Hesse, openly and learnedly taught the genuine principles of Christianity therein.

Afterwards, being made strong in the Lord, he returned into Scotland with a chosen companion of his studies, and there also he publicly taught the truth as it is in Jesus. Very soon the chief prelates with the other ministers of Antichrist met together in the city of St. Andrews, that they might lay hands upon him, and immediately cut him off, while the king was yet a boy; for Patrick himself was one of the blood royal. But he, altogether ardent in the confession of Christ, did not flee away, but was even beforehand with them; and on the morning of the first of March, A. D. 1527, he presented himself, as an humble but willing sacrifice in the presence of those rapacious wolves. He was instantly condemned, and sentenced to death, like Christ by the bloodthirsty Jews: and by the noon of the same day, he was bound to the stake and burnt.

The works which proceeded from the pen of this extraordinary genius, were,

*A Treatise on the Law and the Gospel;*

————— *on Faith and Works;*

both included in the tract called "Patrick's Places \*;"

*and a few others.*

Francis Lambert, of Avignon, in the preface to his work upon the Revelations, addressed to the afore-

\* There is an original MS. copy of Patrick's Places in the library of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. A few slight deviations from it occur in the text as printed in Fox's Martyrology.

said Prince of Hesse, testifies that he never met with any one who spoke with greater sincerity, and power in explaining the word of God. "He truly (says he) brought into the Church of Christ, not only his honours, but also his life."

## GEORGE JOY.

GEORGE JOY, a native of Bedfordshire, was educated at the University of Cambridge. He there imbibed the heavenly truths of religion from the pure fountain of the Gospel of Christ, and underwent many sufferings from Cardinal Wolsey, Bishop Fisher, Lord Chancellor More, and other persecuting agents of the Papal Antichrist.

By them he was compelled to fly into Germany, where he translated several books of the Holy Scripture into English, and also wrote the following treatises, viz.

*A Book on the Church, against Sir T. More.*

*Letters to the Prior of Newenham.*

*A Tract on the Passion of Christ.*

*An Apology written to Tindal.*

*A Book on the Lord's Supper.*

*Do. on the Eucharist.*

*Do. on Baptism and the Eucharist.*

*A Defence of Matrimony.*

*Concerning the Burdens of Ceremonies.*

*Commentaries on the Book of Daniel.*

*A Book against the Articles of Bishop Gardiner.*

*A Confutation of the same Articles.*

*And some others.*

He died A. D. 1553, a firm pillar, and defender of the Christian faith, and was buried in his native county.



## ROBERT BARNES.

ROBERT BARNES was born not far from Lynn in the county of Norfolk : during that age of various factions, he was in very early youth set apart to the sect of Augustine mendicant friars. Barnes and myself (*Bale*), as young men alike in age and studies, although of different professions in the kingdom of Antichrist, went through the exercises of the Soph's schools, together at Cambridge, in the year 1514. But he far outstripped me in literary attainments, owing to his peculiar genius and abilities. He, having in due time proceeded as Doctor in Divinity, and being convinced of the truths of God by the writings of Luther, immediately began, as a most able champion, to enter the lists with the cruel monsters of superstition. Being armed with the eloquence of the eternal Jehovah, he became a constant asserter of the truth, fought valiantly against the Dragon and the Beast, and overturned their fortifications. But he was speedily brought to trial by the bloody ministers of the Popish Babylon in the month of February 1525, and being condemned under 25 articles of ceremonies, charged against him by the Bishops of London, Rochester, Bath and Wells, and St. Asaph, he was compelled to subscribe an abjuration before Cardinal Wolsey.

After more than two years imprisonment, he escaped from his place of confinement, and took refuge with Luther in Germany ; where, having remained for some years in friendship with that great Reformer, and many other lovers of true piety, he again returned into England. From that time he with great firmness and sincerity maintained the justification of a sinner through faith alone in the work of Christ our Saviour, against the ungodly preachers

of human works: this he did both in sermons and writings; resting on the promise that the head of the old serpent would be bruised by the holy seed alone.

Satan, therefore, speedily devised new machinations against him through the medium of the insidious prelates. Under whose tyranny although he seemed to sink, like one vanquished; yet now, the departed saint triumphantly reigns in glory, and is made more than conqueror over his ungodly survivors.

This truly faithful minister of God's word wrote in Latin, and dedicated to King Henry VIII. a learned history of the transactions between the Popes and Emperors; it was executed with very superior judg-

His works in Latin were,  
*The Lives of the Popes.*  
*The Judgment of the Doctors.*  
*The Heads of his own Discourses.*

- He published also in English,
- \* *A Supplication to King Henry VIII.*
  - \* *His Articles condemned by Popish Bishops.*
  - \* *A Disputation between the Bishops and Dr. Barnes,*
  - \* *A Treatise on Justification.*
  - \* *What the Church is.*
  - \* *Another Declaration of the Church, and what the*  
*Keys of the Church be, against Mr. More.*
  - \* *A Treatise on Free-will.*
  - \* *It is lawful for all to read the Holy Scriptures.*
  - \* *Men's Constitutions bind not Conscience.*
  - \* *On Communion in both Kinds.*
  - \* *Priests may lawfully marry.*
  - \* *Worship of Saints is unlawful.*
  - \* *On the Origin of the Mass.*
  - \* *A Collection of Doctors' Testimonies.*

In company with two other faithful servants of God, William Hierome, and Thomas Garret, he was not

ashamed for the name of Christ, to undergo the cruel death of burning (through the tyrannical influence of Stephen Gardiner, and others of the fraternity of Antichrist), on the 30th of July 1541 : no cause for the horrible deed being assigned, except that he was a strenuous supporter of the Gospel of Christ.

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END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.















